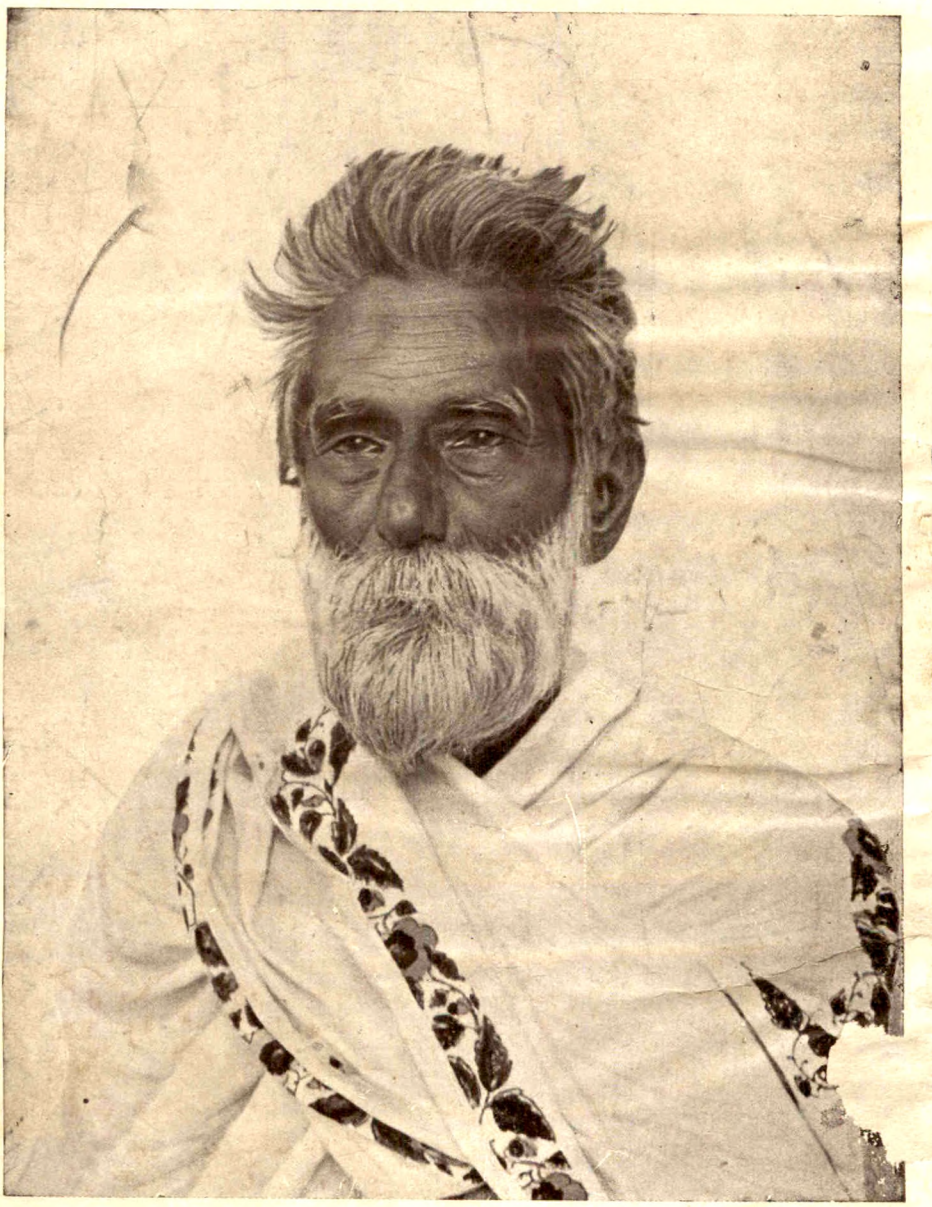

THE LATE ACHARYA SIR PRAFULLA CHANDRA RAY

Born : The 2nd of August, 1861 *Died : The 16th of June, 1944*

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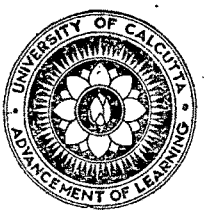

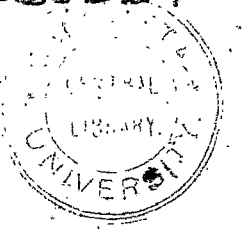

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JULY, 1944

(14-5)

THE INDIAN VIEW OF THE JUTE INDUSTRY

H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D., M.L.A.

I

THE European businessman is almost always disposed to compliment himself on account of the benefits conferred on India through the development of some of our industries under his leadership. Nor does he show much hesitation in advertising the services he holds he has rendered us. For instance, before the foundations of responsible Government in India were laid by implementing dyarchy under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, we find the President of the (European) Bengal Chamber of Commerce stating on the 28th February, 1919, as follows:

"I refuse to accept the charges sometimes levelled at us that we are mere exploiters and profiteers. My reply to those who would traduce us is —ome, enquire and see, afterwards judge the results.' Our jute and other ades have been profitable, but had they not been so what would have been ne result ? Would the millions of wealth from countries beyond the seas e to India for distribution year by year in return for honest labour by far the least proportion of which falls to the lot of the British cial community in proportionate return of services rendered?"

The two claims advanced were that British businessmen are not exploiters and profiteers and that "the least proportion" of the "millions of ealth" coming to India as a result of their activities has fallen to their or taking into account the presumably valuable services rendered by them. The public was further invited to institute enquiries and then to form its opinion.

It must be known to every one who studies the speeches delivered and the statements made at the annual meetings of the larger and more

important European Chambers of Commerce and of the All-India (European) Associated Chambers of Commerce that similar or almost similar claims have been advanced from time to time and, specially, when there has been any question as regards the future position of British business in our economic and political life. And it is only natural that such pronouncements should emanate from this particular quarter for, at bottom, they amount to nothing but a claim for consideration for valuable economic services said to have been rendered by British business interests to India.

Indeed, so far as the jute industry specifically mentioned in the speech of the President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce is concerned, every one has to admit that while Indians have supplied the land and the labour for growing jute and all the labour for manufacturing the raw product, Britain or rather Scotland has furnished the leadership and the capital so that today the jute industry may be regarded as a joint achievement. But even so, Indians contend that the partnership has resembled that between the giant and the dwarf in the well-known fable where the former, to use slang, got all the "kudos" and the latter all the kicks.

II

Obviously, such benefits as have resulted from the development of the jute industry must have come, if we omit the middle-men concerned, to one or more among five classes of Indians. The first of these would be the growers supplying the raw material, the second, the workers who turn it into manufactured goods, the third, those supervising this process, the fourth, the investors in the jute concerns and, fifth and last, those standing at the top and directing the industry.

It need hardly be added that the jute growers must necessarily be more numerous than the jute workers and that the supervising staff, the investing public and those desirous of participating in the direction of the industry cannot but be a very small fraction of the above two classes.

It also follows as a corollary that, considering the situation as a whole, no fair-minded Indian, especially if he tries to take a detached view of things, has any right to complain if it is found that the jute grower and the jute worker are substantially benefited even though the more educated and better-off among his countrymen are partially or even completely shut out from participating in such advantages as have flown from the establishment of this particular industry under British leadership and control.

It is proposed in what follows to try to ascertain which among these classes have benefited and, if so, to what extent.

III

Though grown in Assam, Bihar, Orissa and, to a small extent, in the United Provinces, Bengal, to all purposes, holds the monopoly of jute in the world. Such attempts as have been made hitherto to grow it elsewhere have not so far been commercially successful. Its importance lies in the fact that raw and manufactured jute accounts for nearly 50 per cent of the total value of exports from Bengal and about 25 per cent of the total value of exports from the whole of India.

Easily available statistics show that the average area under jute during the last war period (1915-20) was 2.6 million acres and the yield 8 million bales of 400 lbs each and that while the exports of raw jute declined, those of manufactured jute increased from the pre-war average of about 20 to 45 crores. Before the slump of 1928-29, the area under jute amounted to 3.1 million acres yielding 9.9 million bales. In that year, the value of raw jute exported was 32 crores and of jute manufactures 45.6 crores.

The area under jute was curtailed during the period 1931-37 because of the slump in the prices, the depression of the jute industry resulting from the world economic crisis of 1929-33 and a campaign for the voluntary restriction of jute in 1935. The declaration of the present war with its great demand for jute manufactures had the effect of increasing the area under jute in 1940 which, according to the Indian Year Book of 1942-43, exceeded 5.66 million acres yielding over 13 million bales.

The Bengal Government enacted the Bengal Jute Regulation Act in August, 1940, to regulate the acreage under jute on a compulsory basis while the mills also were obliged to cut down the production of jute manufactures by a reduction in the hours of work and similar other devices.

In 1940-41, exports of raw jute declined to 244,000 tons valued at Rs. 7.85 crores there being thus a decline of more than 60 per cent. It is understood that shortage in shipping space coupled with other factors such as the closing down of the Continental markets resulting from the present war prevented larger exports of both raw and manufactured jute. This condition, admittedly an abnormal one, is not, for reasons mentioned hereafter, taken into consideration in the present discussion.

IV

There is a demand for raw jute both in and outside India. According to a recent estimate (*Our Economic Problem*, by Messrs. Wadia and Merchant, p. 305), "over half of raw jute is turned into cloth in Indian factories," the balance finding a ready market outside India.

In 1928-29, we exported 898,000 tons valued at Rs. 32.35 crores. The effect of the world depression can be inferred from the figures for 1932-33 when we exported 563,000 tons valued at Rs. 9.73 crores. The improvement which followed is clear from the figures for 1937-38 when our exports of raw jute amounting to 747,000 tons fetched us Rs. 14.72 crores. The outbreak of the present war reduced the amount exported in 1938-39 to 568,000 tons which, however, fetched better prices for we received Rs. 19.83 crores for it.

It goes without saying that the sale of raw jute to the jute mills located in India must have fetched nearly the same amounts.

It is clear that though the jute growers may have to put up with lower prices on account of the falling off in the world demand for raw and manufactured jute, it is not unnatural for them to expect that they would be able to sell their jute at prices sufficient to cover at least the cost of production so long as the mills managed to earn profits.

It should be stated here that in what follows the present writer has deliberately refrained from discussing the present cost of production of jute, and the price obtained for it by the grower, the price paid by the jute mills and the profits earned by them because he feels that on account of the abnormal situation created by the war, information however accurate on these matters, will fail to convey a correct idea of the benefits ordinarily received by Indians of various classes from the jute industry.

V

Jute can be grown only in land constantly enriched by the deposit of rich alluvial silt. The extraction of the fibre is a laborious and a comparatively expensive process. It is therefore that its cultivation ceases to be profitable when the price goes down below a certain level.

So far as the cost of production per maund is concerned, it appears from a Note submitted to the Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee of 1929-30 by the Director of Agriculture, Bengal, that in that year the cost of production of jute per maund was Rs. 6-8 on the assumption that the average yield per acre was 16 maunds. This figure, however, did not take into account "the value of the land, union rate or interest liability of the Bengal cultivator."

According to the Majority Report of the Finlow Committee (Bengal Jute Enquiry Committee of 1933), the average yield of jute is 16 maunds to the acre or roughly $5\frac{1}{3}$ maunds per bigha. Khan Bahadur, now Sir, M. Azizul Huque after an analysis of the evidence on which this view was based came to the conclusion that the average yield per bigha varies

between 3 and 4 maunds. As a member of the Finlow Committee, he pointed out in his note that from the evidence offered by witnesses in mofussil districts it appeared that " the average cost of production everywhere varies (in 1933) from Rs. 3-8 to Rs. 6 per maund " (Report of the Bengal Jute Enquiry Committee, 1933, Vol. I, p. 183).

Dr. D. B. Meek, O.B.E., Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, giving his evidence before the Finlow or the First Jute Enquiry Committee on the 30th May, 1933, said that on an average Rs. 6 per maund might be regarded as the cost of production (Report of the Bengal Jute Enquiry Committee, 1933, Vol. II, p. 418).

As against this, the (European) Indian Jute Mills Association, answering the questionnaire of the Finlow Committee, said that " Rs. 2-8 to Rs. 3 per maund appears to be a fair average for the present cost of cultivation."

The Second Jute Enquiry Committee of 1939, known as the Fawcus Committee, held that in that year the average cost of production of jute was about Rs. 4 per maund (Report, Vol I, p. 74).

Sir M. Azizul Huque in his *Man Behind the Plough* (p. 62) published in the same year maintained that the cost of production varied between Rs. 4-4 and Rs. 5 per maund.

All the European members and the I. C. S. member and Secretary of the Fawcus Committee in Chapter VII-B of the Report said that the estimate of the (European) Bengal Chamber of Commerce of the average cost of production was Rs. 3-8 per maund.

We thus see that the European purchasers of jute as compared with officials, experts, etc., have always tended to underestimate the cost of production which explains their attitude as regards the fixing of an equitable price for raw jute. We shall now proceed to consider the price actually received by the jute grower.

VI

The signatories to the Minority Report of the Finlow Committee (First Jute Enquiry Committee of 1933) quoted figures to prove that the harvest price of jute per maund was Rs. 8 in 1929-30, Rs. 3-8 in 1930-31, and Rs. 3-4 in 1931-32 as also that for some time " it dropped to the incredibly low figure of Rs. 2-8 per maund against an estimated cost of production of more than Rs. 5 " (Report, Vol. I, pp. 85 and 84).

Dr. D. B. Meek, Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, India, tendering evidence before the Finlow or the First Jute Enquiry Committee of 1933, in his personal capacity (Vol. II, p. 418)

said that, under the conditions prevailing then, he considered Rs. 8 per maund as a fair Calcatta price.

As against this, the Indian Jute Mills Association which has nothing Indian about it except its name, in one of its written answers to the questionnaire of the Finlow or the First Jute Enquiry Committee of 1933 said that it considered "Rs. 3-8 to Rs. 4 per maund to the cultivator," a fair price (Report, Vol. II, p. 368).

The majority of the Fawcus or the Second Jute Enquiry Committee of 1939 expressed the opinion that in order that the jute grower might obtain the minimum profit, the price of jute should not be less than Rs. 7 per maund.

The Bengal Chamber of Commerce, another organisation of European businessmen, informed the Fawcus or the Second Bengal Jute Enquiry Committee of 1939, that the price offered to the grower should be determined by the average cost of production which it held was about Rs. 3-8 per maund.

This is in marked contrast to the attitude of Sir Adamjee Haji Dawood, a well-known Indian jute mill owner, who, when examined by the Fawcus or the Second Jute Enquiry Committee, expressed the view that "the jute industry could easily stand a minimum price of Rs. 8 per maund for the bottom (or the lowest) quality" (Report, p. 73).

These instances prove that the European purchasers of jute were either inclined to underestimate the cost of production through ignorance or to knowingly offer less than the cost of production. Whatever the reason for this attitude, it is clearly against the interests of the jute growers. And it has been a constant complaint with them and their champions that they are rarely paid an equitable price, and that in many instances they cannot get a price sufficient to cover the cost of production.

VII

It cannot be justifiably held that the price paid for jute is governed exclusively by competition among the growers. This would be true if there was no other complicating factor. On the other hand, there are sufficient grounds for holding that it is largely determined by demand. Theoretically, this demand is the demand of the industry as a whole in and outside India. As a matter of fact, however, such pressure as has come has, to all intents and purposes, come from the Indian jute mills which, in the language of *Economic Problems of India* (edited by Messrs. R. K. Mukerji and H. L. Dey, Vol. II, p. 37) consume "nearly two-thirds of the jute grown."

The location of a very large majority of the jute mills almost next door to the raw material market makes knowledge about their requirements easy. The amount of raw jute held in stock by them is also known, or at least, can be guessed at without much difficulty. Similar information with regard to the needs of Western jute mills is not available with the result that those engaged in the export of raw jute have to be cautious as regards the amount they purchase to carry on their business. This imposes strict limitations on the competition for raw jute as between jute mills located in and outside India. The consequence is that, almost universally, foreign mills do not pay higher prices for their raw jute than Indian mills or, to put it differently, it is the Indian mills which, more or less, control the price of raw jute.

If the growers had been in a position to control the production and the marketing of jute, they might have been able to secure a fair price. But concerted action is out of question for them not only on account of their illiteracy but also because they are scattered over a very large area and grow it in small plots. Their abysmal poverty does not permit them to wait for any expected rise in the price of jute. In addition, landlords, moneylenders and those who, directly or indirectly, finance them are aware that it is their only money crop and that prompt realisation of their dues depends on its sale. The effect of all these factors is that growers are compelled to sell their jute as soon as the fibre is ready.

The large amount of jute placed at once on the market creates a glut and this tends to push down the prices. Jute buyers, in other words, the mills and those engaged in the export trade in raw jute, naturally enough take advantage of the situation with often the result that the price offered does not cover the cost of production. Besides, it is easy for the jute mills to wait for a decline in the prices as they always carry stocks of raw jute sufficient to meet their immediate needs.

The Indian Chamber of Commerce was referring to this state of affairs when it told the Finlow Committee of 1933:

"In short the position is this, that whilst it is possible for the consumer to keep out of the market for any length of time, the sellers cannot do so, hence the decline in prices." (Report of the First Jute Enquiry Committee, Vol. II, p. 186).

The agriculturists do not give up growing jute even when they are forced by circumstances, over which they have no control, to sell it at below cost prices, first because there is no alternative money crop to the cultivation of which they can betake themselves and secondly, because they hope that next year they may be able to obtain better prices.

As against the economic helplessness of the jute growers, we find that concerted action among the jute mills is easy in view of the existence of their organisation, the (European) Indian Jute Mills Association. The evidence offered by it and the (European) Bengal Chamber of Commerce before the first Jute Enquiry (Finlow) Committee of 1933 and the Second Jute Enquiry (Fawcus) Committee of 1939 is sufficient to prove how the jute industry under European leadership has managed to make the jute growers mere pawns for the purpose of meeting the needs of this industry for cheap raw materials. This was pointed out clearly by the majority of the Fawcus Committee in 1939 when on page 72 of the report it was stated that "the Indian Jute Mills Association who have been controlling the policy of pricing the jute do not look to the interests of the jute growers."

In this connection the attention of the reader may be drawn to the following extract from a note contributed by Mr. Siddheswar Chattopadhyay to the August (1943) issue of *Modern Review* :—

"The Indian Jute Mills Association which represents British-managed jute mills in Bengal has fixed Rs. 19, Rs. 17, and Rs. 14 as maximum prices of jute, top, middle and bottom, respectively. . . . . The cultivator will get the lowest price in the history of jute as at no time has he had to part with one maund of jute for the price of half a maund of rice. The average of the three prices of jute is Rs. 17, while the price of rice is not below Rs. 34. The price of anything in Bengal has to be considered in terms of the price of the staple food of the people."

The three facts which have to be emphasised here are that as these were maximum prices, it does not follow that in every case the grower was able to obtain them, that the Indian Jute Mills Association is in such a strong position that it could dictate the price with the fullest confidence that no one would dream of offering higher prices and, lastly, that though earning what many would consider fairly high profits, the Association failed to take into account the high price of rice.

VIII

The Fawcus or the Second Jute Enquiry Committee of 1939 which, among other things, was asked to consider improvement in the price of jute and the fixing of its price by Government, requested information from the (European) Indian Jute Mills Association as regards manufacturing costs in order to ascertain the limits within which a minimum price could be fixed without cutting into the normal profits of the industry. The correspondence, which passed between its Secretary, a member of

the Indian Civil Service, and the Association and which appears on pages 161-164 of the first volume of the report, shows the unwillingness or rather the refusal of the latter to supply relevant data on the matter so much so that Messrs. L. R. Fawcus, I. G. Kennedy, W. A. M. Walker and the Secretary were compelled to observe that "in the absence of reliable costs data, particularly the data relating to the costs of manufacture of jute goods, it is not practicable to fix a minimum price which will be appreciably higher than the prevailing price."

It was thus that the attempt of the Bengal Government to assist the growers of Bengal to obtain a price for their jute which would, at the same time, guarantee normal profits to the manufacturers, was torpedoed by the perversity of the manufacturing interests.

It is believed, may-be wrongly, that this information was withheld because it was apprehended that it would not only warrant the fixing of a minimum price of raw jute by the Bengal Government but also that it would justify the demand of jute workers for higher wages. Either or both these contingencies would of course have led to serious deductions in the profits—a prospect far from agreeable to the jute industry.

IX

On page 146 of the first volume of the report of the Finlow or the First Jute Enquiry Committee of 1933 will be found a statement based on information collected from official sources giving the harvest price and the Calcutta price of jute per ton as well as the average price per ton of jute manufactures exported for the period 1920-1932. This should open the eyes of those who refuse to believe in the exploitation of the grower by the manufacturing and commercial interests which handle jute. The comment in the report is as follows:—

"The gap that now exists between the price of the fibre and the price of the finished product is disproportionately wide and has indeed been a regular feature of the trade."

Sir M. Azizul Huque, now Commerce Member, India Government, discussing harvest price and manufacturing costs in his book *Man Behind the Plough* published in 1939, concluded that though "the jute trade and industry generally had an almost uninterrupted period of prosperity . . . the grower did not participate to a corresponding extent in this prosperity."

The high dividends paid to jute mill shareholders referred to later on afford sufficient proof that the above is a very mild way of stating the

position, *viz.*, very respectable profits for the commercial and manufacturing interests and, ordinarily, a cost or a below-cost price to the jute growers.

Obviously, one of the easiest ways to assist the growers would be to reduce the area under jute thus making it possible for them to get a fair price for it. If the jute industry had any sympathy for them, it would not think of opposing any move which the administration might contemplate in this direction. Surely if limitation of output for the ensuring of profits is justifiable in the case of jute mills, it is equally so in the case of jute growers who want only a fair price. But it is not so. The jute manufacturers were against the reduction of jute acreage for the higher prices which would inevitably follow and would immediately affect their profits.

This is proved by what the Indian Chamber of Commerce told the Fawcus or the Second Jute Enquiry Committee of 1939 (Report, Vol. II, p. 138). It stated that by regulating production, the jute industry had "always ensured a certain measure of prosperity for those engaged in it. Even now when we are passing through the worst economic depression, the jute mill industry is, perhaps, the best paying industry in India. It is also curious and significant that, whenever it is proposed to control the output of raw jute, those engaged in the manufacturing of jute are the strongest opponents of such proposals."

X

The attitude of the jute mills which have so far utilised their strong bargaining position to the detriment of the jute growers has been clarified by the statement that "business is no philanthropy and in business-economics one is always entitled to purchase at the lowest price if he can arrange it, just as a seller is entitled to sell things to his own best advantage" (Finlow Committee Report, 1933, Vol. I, p. 186).

The Majority members of the Fawcus Committee of 1939, discussing the fixing of a minimum price for jute in Chapter VII-A of their report, also defended the unsympathetic attitude of the jute industry towards the growers when they said:

"We do not accuse them for that because they are businessmen and as such they must look to their own interests."

A more reasonable and, the present writer maintains, a far more correct attitude was that indicated by Sir M. Azizul Huque who on page 77 of his *Man Behind the Plough* said that "it is correct to say that in business, one always tries to purchase at the lowest price and sell at the highest. Unfortunately the conditions are different in this province

(Bengal) where we have an organised industry and an unorganised body of agriculturists, ignorant and scattered over a very wide area and as such utterly helpless in the matter of bargaining powers with the powerful organisations in trade and industry."

While conceding that the jute industry is entitled to "a fair margin of profit in order to retain its efficiency," this writer maintains that "the grower also must obtain a fair price for the raw materials he produces."

XI

The facts already placed before the reader, all drawn from authoritative sources, will most probably be regarded as sufficient justification for the opinion ordinarily held by Indians that if the jute industry has earned profits about which there is very little doubt, they have not come to the grower. It is no argument that the jute industry has created a demand for a money crop, the disposal of which enables the grower to meet his financial liabilities when we see that in some years it fetches some money, in other years barely enough to just cover the actual cost of production and, in still other years, entails an actual financial loss. It is therefore that Indians contend that it is a downright mistake to assume that the jute industry was started with the idea of benefiting the grower.

It is perhaps correct to hold that if tomorrow the jute industry comes across a less costly but equally efficient substitute for jute, obtainable outside India, it will not show the slightest hesitation in importing and using it in the mills located in India, after of course such alterations in the machinery as may be necessary. Such a change, if found profitable, will not be hindered by any concern for the welfare of the jute grower.

If the facts given above are in the main correct, it follows that it cannot be held that the grower has, on the whole, benefited to any appreciable or permanent extent by the establishment of the jute industry. He was drawn into it only because it could not have come into existence without the raw material which only he can furnish at the expense of immense toil and with the help of the specially favourable conditions for the cultivation of jute provided by our soil and climate. Under these circumstances, the less said about the conferring of benefits on the grower by people who are admittedly here for the earning of a living or rather of a competence, the better, for the more emphatically such claims are advanced, the less conviction they will carry.

PLANNING OR LAISSEZ FAIRE

E. A. GUTKIND, DR.ING.

WHATEVER the future holds in store for India she must make up her mind whether her natural and her man-made landscape will be transformed by a systematic procedure or under laissez faire conditions. Unfortunately this issue has been mixed up with political controversies to such a degree that it is not easy to remove the mountain of irrelevancies which has been piled up over the essential problems by prejudice and biased information. Under such conditions it is only with great hesitation that an attempt is being made to reduce the multitude of controversial questions to a unifying outlook which may serve as a guide in the tangle of post-war reconstruction. I do not pretend that the conclusions presented are more than a general outline of a number of the major problems which will face other countries as well as India after the war. Nor would I dare to tell my Indian friends of the experience gained so far in other countries, if I were not entitled to claim that I am looking at the whole complex of post-war reconstruction in a spirit which is detached from national aspirations, but which is solely governed by the desire to promote the peaceful collaboration of all the peoples in all the lands on an international basis of equality.

Two trends now emerging in the sphere of physical reconstruction seem to be of a dominating importance. They may be summarised as the need for a systematic procedure and the subordination of economic issues to social ends. If both these changes can be carried through without wavering and compromising they will amount to a peaceful revolution compared with which other transformations are child's play. They mean in reality the end of "economic man" and the birth of "social man"; and they demand also the substitution of systematic planning, *i.e.*, of an anticipation, selection and co-ordinating procedure in place of haphazard piecemeal and more or less uncorrelated individual actions. I am aware that many people will object to this statement on the grounds that the ascendancy of these principles will lead to a restriction of personal initiative and to a devaluation of economic efficiency in favour of less clearly defined social objectives. However, it is not altogether unfortunate that the trend of evolution is directed by its own inherent laws; and that these laws do not leave any doubt that the time is past when we could expect that an unlimited number of individual decisions would produce a smoothly

working machinery for the provision of the many social, cultural and economic needs of humanity. "Muddling through" has proved its utter incapability of dealing effectively with a situation which is becoming more complicated from day to day and which is leading towards an evergrowing integration of man's activities in every sphere of life and every country of the world. This fundamental change cannot be directed into productive channels by a few petty reforms but only by the boldest actions and by making crystal clear the ideal goal which we want to reach eventually. This goal can be summed up in its broad significance as the turning away from the lamentable adoration of quantitative values and the fruitless amassing of details towards qualitative valuations and seeing things whole, *i. e.*, in their totalness and interplay with their surroundings.

How shall these principles be implemented? Although here we can deal only with physical planning it is appropriate to emphasize that planning does not attempt to 'plan' man but exclusively his environment. This should be done in such a way that he can live a full life and express himself freely and creatively, possibilities which are not open to him anywhere now. Why this is so would need a long and very detailed treatise. Here let us get down to facts, facts as they have been brought about in all countries. There is first the crowding together of people within areas which are too small or too unproductive or too inefficiently developed or too one-sidedly adapted to new conditions to offer fair standards of living and working to their inhabitants. The obvious remedy is a decentralisation of population and industry. Impossible? Of course not if it is carried through systematically and on a large scale, *i. e.*, at least on a regional scale. As long as industry was steam-centred it was bound to concentrate either on or near coal deposits, or in large towns, the latter situation being the result especially of the proximity of a large labour market. Now electricity can be laid on everywhere and thus the first prerequisite of an imaginative redistribution does exist. But—and a very great 'but' must be added—a new danger seems to lurk behind this possibility. Electricity can be distributed so easily that it may lead also easily to a lop-sided development, *i.e.*, to a preference of certain districts and to a neglect of others. Consequently we must know not only what areas are to be thinned out but also to what areas the surplus population should be directed; or in other words there should be a clear and large-scale plan for evacuation and reception areas. India's problems in this respect are highly complex. She suffers in many parts of the country from overcrowding not only in urban but also in rural districts. Something has to be done about this dual complication, and although the difficulties are greater than in a case where a thinly populated countryside offers an outlet for the urban

spill-over, it is nevertheless possible to devise efficient solutions. This inter-dependence of rural and urban overcrowding and decentralisation respectively is another proof for the imperative need for planning on a large scale. Two remedies seem to offer themselves : the first appertains to internal regrouping, the other one to external redistribution, each resulting in a loosening of congested areas. Readers will not expect me to delve into this question. Even a brief explanation would go far beyond the scope of this article. I must rely on their friendly readiness to accept these statements and to trust the experience which has been accumulated by a great many of the advanced and socially aware town-planners. A few improvement-schemes will not do ; they would amount to nothing more than window dressing and repeat the old mistakes of starting from the bottom with detailed plans instead of tackling the problem in its entirety from both ends at the same time, *i.e.*, from the bottom and from the top.

The redistribution of industry should be conceived with the end in view of creating a diversified social and economic structure in every community which will be affected by this transformation. Diversification in this sense means that not more than, say, 20% of the population of the same community rely on the same industry in order to make as many people as possible independent of economic fluctuations and to bring about that measure of social variety which is essential for a stimulating life. This is especially important in rural places which will be transformed into garden-cities in the course of this process ; for it is one of the foremost aims of this development to make the countryside an equal partner in the progress of civilisation and culture. On the other hand a loosening up of urban districts must not lead to 'ruralising'. Both town and country are one ; and if their great differences are not to degenerate to a stale antagonism—as it has been the case in the past—they must be turned into a creative and mutual fructification. That this cannot be achieved by piecemeal reforms but only by a conception and execution on a grand scale and on a systematically planned basis should be obvious to everybody who wants sincerely to reshape the environment of man in accordance with his needs and aspirations as an individual and social being.

These principles—and once more it should be stressed that they touch only a few though very important issues—must be adapted to the special conditions of India. That I am on firm ground in assuming that these postulates can be applied successfully to the social and economic structure of India seems to be proved by the similar attitude adopted by Professor R. Mukerjee and others. The former states in his book 'The Rural Economy of India' : "a scientifically planned city community and a scientifically planned rural community in India alone can restore the

balance between the rural and the urban economy." But to achieve this end something more is needed than a superficial and, therefore, dangerous introduction of industry to rural districts. After all man does not live to work but he works to live; and this means the subordination of the function of working to the function of living, or in other words rural industrialisation must follow social conditions and not lead to a break up of community feeling. It must be carefully integrated in the rural structure and balanced with agriculture so that part time work in both would provide a reasonable degree of economic security against crises. This is a trend which can be observed in many countries and its far-reaching use in the post-war reconstruction of India should be made part and parcel of any scheme.

Now without the general framework of a National Plan consisting of regional plans and their constituent parts of district and local plans a satisfactory solution is out of reach of any aspirations for a better balance and expanding socio-economic structure of India. I know that many people share this outlook and that they too are not afraid of such a seemingly sweeping demand. In reality it is not 'sweeping' at all. It is sheer commonsense to tackle great problems in a great manner. I do not think that the so-called realists who preach 'first things first' should be taken too seriously. Their time has gone—and after all can they define quite clearly what kind of 'first things' has an absolute and first priority in the rebuilding of a country? The only things that matter are facts; but not those 'facts' of an inferior order such as the widening of a street; the layout of a city park; the extension of a railway line and so forth. These facts are valuable and their real significance can be assessed correctly only within the framework of large-scale planning.

How can we create facts of a higher order? It is a long term process but it can and should be started at once. What is needed is a clear and detailed programme based on the necessary surveys. This is the first step. Surveys are essential but it would appear that the world is developing something like a survey-complex and the survey-complex is liable to confuse the true issues. Let us be on the guard against those who agree enthusiastically to the preparation of surveys; they are sometimes identical with those who aim merely at a consummation of time hoping that in the end everything will remain as it has been before, but giving outwardly the impression of an almost majestic activity. Programme, survey, time-table, all of them form the preparatory stage. But I am not content with this orthodox trinity. I want to add something that is more inspiring and more convincing than even these unavoidable preliminaries. I should like to ask that another trinity ought to be created in the form of factual

achievements. It is necessary to start building one or two or even three model towns in different parts of India ; model towns designed and executed in conformity with the most advanced principles of town planning and architecture ; model towns with buildings which are functionally beautiful and which are not second-hand editions of second rate European examples or worse still parade with this embarrassing modesty of 'reconciling' European and Indian styles with the only result that they belong to the category of architectural monstrosities. The second element of the suggested trinity should consist of a regional scheme aiming at a structural integration of a large region and at a diversified pattern of functional allocation with regard to every community within its boundaries. The third part should be played by a state and should be a plan covering the whole area of this state outlining its physical re-adaptation to changing conditions. These facts will be more convincing than anything else, since they are realities and contributions towards the improvement of the living conditions of millions of people.

It is a spirit of adventure which is needed for this revolution of environment, but it is an adventure along a way which the people can build themselves with the unselfish help of those who are willing to offer advice on a generous scale. However, there should be no false modesty. The highest aims are just good enough and nothing should distract energy and imagination from an uncompromising attitude towards this most important problem.

THE PROPOSED HINDU CODE: A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

TARAK CHANDRA DAS
Lecturer, Calcutta University

II

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE PROPOSED CODE

AGRICULTURE is the mainstay of the Indian population ; 67 per cent of the Indians follow ' pasture and agriculture ' as their principal means of livelihood and 4 per cent. as subsidiary occupation. This condition will persist for a long time to come. Complete industrialization is out of question at present ; even partial industrialization has also to cross over many political sand bars. Under these circumstances when the Governors' Provinces will pass complementary legislation in respect of agricultural land, as intended by this bill, the economic condition of the ordinary villager will be deeply affected. This will reach its climax in the Permanent Settlement area. Bengal will be the worst sufferer in this respect as the oldest seat of permanent settlement. The direct effect of Permanent Settlement is the fragmentation of holdings which goes on merrily generation after generation under peaceful condition of life. From village surveys conducted by members of the Department of Anthropology in different parts of Bengal it appears that the average area of cultivable land owned by each rural family is below 3 bighas. The Agricultural Statistics for 1919-20 states it to be 2·215 acres per worker. Now, a biological family consists of husband, wife and children. If we omit the children for the time being from our consideration, as they do not count in matters of inheritance so long as the parents are alive, we find two persons only in each family—one male and the other female. Under the existing laws of inheritance the male owns and inherits property under normal conditions. But when the proposed code will come into force the female also will be an owner through inheritance of her parental property (and later of a part of her husband's property but we leave for the present a consideration of this aspect) under normal conditions. So if we look upon this question from the standpoint of the aggregate of males and females of our country, there is nothing to complain as the numbers of males and females born in India are almost

the same. But when we look upon it from the standpoint of national economy we are confronted with the question of further fragmentation of our holdings. It may be asked how can there be further fragmentation ? The property inherited by the wife will naturally coalesce with that of her husband. So there will be no loss either from the national or from the individual standpoint. But the coalescence of the wife's property with that of the husband is more apparent than real. We are a patrilocal people ; the wife comes to live with her husband in his paternal village and remains there for ever. In Bengal intra-village marriages are very rare. Generally marriages take place within a radius of ten miles—some of course go beyond this area. As personal contact of the bride and bridegroom is not the crucial factor in selecting mates in Bengal, distance is not an important limiting factor. Moreover the institution of match-makers easily bring about unions even between unknown families through their mediation. Thus, if we assume that in most of the families the wife comes from a distance of 7 or 8 miles her paternal agricultural land (which is the most important part of the heritage) will be situated at that distance from her husband's home. So there will be no real coalescence of her property into that of her husband. Under these circumstances she will have two courses open to her: (*a*) she may lease it to her brother or any other man of the locality or (*b*) may sell it outright. In each case she will be a loser. From our personal experience of tenant-cultivators (*Bargādārs*) of rural Bengal, extending over many years, we may state that they are invariably less careful about such fields. Almost every gentelman who leases land on *bargā* system testifies in unequivocal language to the fact that the fields of owner-cultivators and tenant-cultivators can be easily distinguished by a mere glance. The *bargā* land is not properly ploughed, or manured or weeded which results in bad crop-outturn. Even the different operations of the field are not performed at the proper time. The *bargādār* naturally bestows a greater amount of attention on his own land. He spends more time, money and energy on it. This is quite natural as he will himself enjoy the entire fruits of his labour and money on this kind of land: there is none to share it. But this is not the case with the *bargā* land where the produce is shared according to a fixed proportion. The *bargādār* does not find any special incentive to produce more: he knows that whatever is produced he will merely get a proportionate share. So he is not eager to spend more than the minimum. The defect is inherent in the psychology of this economic relationship of our people. We have seen that whenever land is leased on payment of a fixed sum of money or quantity of produce the attitude of the cultivator changes and better crop-outturn results. But this is not

advantageous to the owners of *bargā* land as the cultivator invariably offers a lower sum of money or quantity of produce than what may be reasonably expected from the *bargā* system. This is also natural on the part of the cultivator as he wants to insure against failure of crops which is almost a normal condition in our country. In this tug of war between the owner and the cultivator of *bargā* lands the owner ultimately imposes his will and lets out the fields on share basis. The ultimate result is that both the individual and the nation lose. The amount of national loss is the difference between the maximum capacity of production possible when cultivated by the owner and the actual minimum production made by the *bargādārs*. This is not a trifling matter to be overlooked when we take into consideration the huge number of tenant cultivators of our country. It is a national waste and should be stopped by all means if we wish to lessen the burden on our land. Unfortunately the proposed law will certainly lead to an increase of *bargā* land.

We shall now discuss the individual loss to the woman. We have already assumed that the woman-inheritor is primarily the member of a family,—a socio-economic unit. Her economic interests are centered in this family. If we assume that the property she brings to her husband's family is equal to what goes out to the sisters of her husband, then there is apparently no loss in absolute sense. But we have already seen that the land inherited by her cannot be ordinarily cultivated by her husband and has to be leased out on *bargā* system which will give her a lesser outturn. Now, again, we find that this loss amounts to the difference between owner-cultivated and tenant-cultivated land. If we look at this problem from a different angle we find that a greater loss may be involved in this case. This new loss takes the shape of proportionate unemployment to the husband of the woman. His employment in the fields of his wife is out of question in the present condition of our marriage system while his employment in his sister's fields or in the fields of any other daughter of the village is uncertain. If he be unable to secure land in this way he will sit idle over the time which he previously employed in the fields now inherited by his sisters. Even if he be fortunate to secure such *bargā* land then the loss will be the difference between the labour usually spent on his own land and on *bargā* land. This is a loss to the individual family which when pooled together shows the ultimate national loss. This indicates the individual and national loss when the woman-inheritor leases out her land on *bargā* system. We shall next consider the other alternative, namely, if she sells the land outright.

When the daughter-inheritor will find that she cannot obtain the maximum or even the normal return from the land inherited from her

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father owing to dishonesty of the *bargādār* or difficulty of management or of transport she would naturally incline to sell the inherited land and purchase with the money a plot of land in her husband's village. This would annually bring into the land market a large number of cultivable fields besides those which normally and naturally come to the market out of other socio-economic causes. As demand and supply rule prices, a larger number of saleable fields would naturally diminish the price of land all over the country. So, it may be argued that individual buyers and sellers will not be losers by this general depression of prices. But other factors intervene and disturb this balance. When we come to consider individual villages of a matrimonial area we may assume that they fare equally so far as economic conditions are concerned and therefore the number of saleable fields coming to the market from this source remains more or less constant and equal. But this is not the case with land which may come to the market from woman-inheritors. In small areas like the matrimonial circles the number of deaths in different villages is not expected to be the same. So, saleable land in them will also not be the same and the normal balance will be disturbed. The woman-inheritor will never be able to gain by this disturbance of the balance owing to the following three factors. (1) The price of land ultimately depends on the price of its produce over which the local buyers and sellers have no control. (2) The purchasers of land in Bengal are mostly non-cultivating owners who generally belong to the middle class. These people invest their surplus income generally on land. Their usual method is to lend money to the cultivating owners and grab their land after a few years in return for interest and capital of the loan advanced. Thus they are never in a hurry and can wait for the best opportunity. (3) The purchasers know that the woman-inheritors are not in a position to dictate their price. Besides these three causes there is another, which is, perhaps, more effective in lowering the price of woman-inherited land. This is the lack of clearness of title. The *purdah* system and marriage outside the village of birth are the two most important contributing factors to this evil which increases with generations. The Muhammadans show a glaring instance of this fact in Bengal. Muhammadan land always fetches a lower price in Bengal owing to lack of clearness of title which is attributed to the inheritance of paternal property in part by the daughters. Thus the woman-inheritor will be always forced to sell at a loss. At the next stage, *i.e.*, when she will try to invest this money in land in the village of her husband she will have to compete with the middle-class purchasers who invest in land. She cannot wait for the opportune moment like them as that may involve her in spending the

money over other affairs. Our cultivators always live from hand to mouth: a sudden windfall like this would naturally lure them to stretch their limbs. They are proverbially improvident and do not think of the morrow. Under these circumstances it cannot be expected that this money will long remain in their hands. Thus the woman inheritor runs the risk of entirely losing the benefit of her heritage and is a loser under every circumstance. The framer of the Bill states in the Explanatory Note p. 2 that the Hindu widow's limited estate leads to depreciation of land value which is proposed to be remedied by the present Bill. But, as we have shown, the Bill will defeat its own motive so far as this point is concerned.

Absence of clarity in title always leads to litigation. Already Bengal is overburdened with this national vice and the present Bill will perhaps add impetus to it. An investigation into the actual condition of title suits among Muhammadans may reveal the real effect of such a law. This should be completed before we proceed further with this Bill.

Social Aspects of the Proposed Code

How far and in what respects the social condition of the Bengali Hindus will be affected by the present legislation are the subject matter for our next consideration. Mutual relations within the family and marriage are perhaps the two most important aspects of social life which, we believe, will be deeply modified by the proposed law. Agricultural income is the basis of social life in Bengal. The members of the joint family work on the fields jointly owned by them and share the produce equally. This was the condition till the end of the last century and this is still the condition in certain parts of the province or in certain strata of society.

We believe that the joint family was the product of the exigencies of paddy cultivation and is roughly conterminous with the distribution of this type of land economy both inside and outside India. Where this natural association is not met with we should suspect the existence of some other more powerful disturbing agency. This institution is now rapidly changing. Western ideals and education have set the ball rolling. Exodus from the village and concentration in the cities are going on side by side as the result of setting up of capitalistic industries in or around the cities. Administrative and commercial requirements have also attracted a particular class of people from the villages who formerly lived on what has been styled by the census authorities as income from land, by offering them lucrative posts. The movement has been further

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accelerated by the phenomenal increase in population during the last half-a-century and consequent pressure on land. The cumulative effect of all these causes is the gradual change of the economic basis of our life, a change from agricultural economy to industrial economy. In our social life this economic transition has initiated the change from joint family to individual family. The proposed law will give further impetus to this change in the manner described below. The joint family in Bengal is based on two economic factors: the joint cultivable land of its component parts and the co-operative labour of its members. It was a means to avoid fragmentation of holdings in one case and to provide a sufficient number of labourers to finish each particular agricultural operation during the proper period which is comparatively shorter in duration in paddy cultivation. In this type of cultivation therefore the partners had no incentive to separate their holdings merely for securing larger shares of the land as they were aware that this advantage would be counterbalanced by the increase in overhead expenses of running a comparatively smaller farm. Thus we realised the ideal of co-operative farming in a smaller scale within the limits of the joint family. This system could continue so long as the value of land was lower than the value of labour which helped the growth of the feeling within the family that each is living on his own labour. The proposed law will break this harmonious relation within the family. The daughters inheriting part of the land and house will naturally separate their shares. Thus one of the basic factors of this type of land economy will be affected: no longer the members of the joint family can overlook the difference in the area of their shares in the land of the family. In this way it will perhaps deal the death blow to the already attenuated joint family of the agricultural population of Bengal. The result will be further fragmentation with all its attendant evils.

In the already existing individual families it will strain the relations between brothers and sisters. Of course, it may be argued that this effect will be of a temporary nature, *i.e.*, only for the present generation or rather those who have been brought up with the ideas of inheritance which now exist. But we cannot ignore the possibilities of deeper and more important effects from such a feeling on the life of our girls in matters relating to their marriage. Among the classes adhering to bridegroom-price the girls are already neglected by their guardians and the proposed law may enhance this feeling so far as the brothers are concerned. Among those who pay for their brides the brothers, who are the natural guardians of their sisters after the death of the father, will have lesser interest in giving the latter in marriage. This may either lead to female celibacy or

increase the age of marriage of girls. Generally infant marriage is the rule in such communities. Therefore an increase in the age of possible brides will be beneficial to the communities if it be not pushed too far so as to retard birthrate. Female celibacy as well as increase in the age of marriage of girls beyond the proper limit always adversely affect the growth of population and lower the moral tone of the society. This has been the case among the Hos of Singbhum among whom many girls remain unmarried throughout life or marry at an advanced age. But the cause is different among them. Among the Muhammadans none of these conditions have originated owing to such social, religious and economic factors as the absence of caste system, the dynamic force of a democratic religion and the general poverty of the common people. Hindu society will not behave in the same manner; it has not the same protective factors.

So long we have considered the effect of the proposed changes on the mutual relations of the brother and sister. It will have no less influence on the relation between parents and sons. The natural affection for the parents among the Hindus has been sustained so long by economic expectations. The sons as the sole inheritors of the father are socially and morally responsible for his maintenance in old age. The mother is an appendage to this father-son relation. This is the economic basis of our moral life. The proposed code will introduce new elements into our consideration in this sphere. The father-son relation will suffer in intensity on one side while the mother-son relation will undergo a complete change. Whether the daughter, inheriting the entire property of the mother, will ever grow in respect of the mother, the same type of socio-economic relationship which characterises the father-son relationship at present, is a matter of grave doubt under present arrangement of the society. On the other hand the sons will surely feel less keenly for a mother who will bequeath all she has to her daughters. Thus a complete change in the psychological, social and economic relationship within the bounds of the biological family is the expected inevitable result of the proposed law.

The institution of marriage will be very deeply modified by the proposed code. Its direct effect on widow remarriage is palpable. Inspite of the Hindu Widow Remarriage Act of more than half-a-century ago, this social movement has not made much progress. The proposed law by giving a share to the widow in the property of her husband will provide an economic inducement to such unions. The young marriageable widow will score over the unmarried girl in this respect as she will inherit both from her husband as well as from her parents while the unmarried girl

will only inherit from her parents. Whether this economic inducement will be sufficiently strong to overcome conservative attitude towards widow remarriage can, at best, be a matter for speculation at the present stage. If it does, the upper classes of our society, where such inducements will be more operative, will experience greater difficulty in providing husbands for their unmarried daughters who will have to face the competition of the opulent widows. If widow remarriage increases in the lower rungs of our society it will do immense good to the people as a whole by increasing the number of births and raising the moral tone. But unfortunately the economic factor will not operate with the same force in this class owing to its low economic level.

Bride and bridegroom-prices prevail respectively in the lower and upper classes of our society. It may be expected that by increasing the economic potential of the bride the proposed law will lower the bridegroom price in the upper classes and increase bride-price in the lower classes. If it actually turns out to be so, the relief it will bring to the few will be totally overshadowed by the mischief it will cause to the overwhelming majority of our society. But we think that it will not lead to any one of these consequences. The bridegroom-price will not decrease as the proposed law leaves sufficient loophole to deprive the fathers of bridegrooms of their covetable possessions. Moreover they are sharp enough to realise that a bird in hand is worth two in the bush. On the other hand the bride-price also will not increase as the fathers of such brides have in most cases little to leave to their daughters. At the most it may concentrate attention on a few girls in both the classes leaving out of consideration the general mass. This is actually the case among the Muhammadans.

The effect of the proposed law on polygyny (marriage of one man with more than one woman at the same time) cannot be reconstructed at present. This institution only lurks at present in the educationally backward groups of the upper classes. Some energetic members of this group may bid for a larger number of potentially wealthy wives but we are afraid their attempts will not meet with success as wealthy brides will be coveted by a larger number of bachelors. Moreover education and culture of the community together with the individual taste and interest of the brides will stand in their way. On the other hand it may also give the death blow to this institution by providing an independent economic status to the unmarried girls.

Moral and Religious Aspects of the Proposed Code

We have already hinted at the possible changes in the moral outlook of our society. The father-son and brother-sister relations will certainly

be modified towards a worse condition. The complete dependence of the Hindu wife on her husband is a necessary condition for a successful union in a society where marriage is brought about by the guardians of the parties without consulting their wishes at an age when amorous feelings do not find any place in their mind. If we now wish to give our womanhood a certain amount of economic independence we should at the same time change the method of bringing about marital unions ; we should along with it increase the age of marriage of our boys and girls and be prepared to give them opportunities for cultivating pre-nuptial love. As complete dependence on the husband is coupled with infant marriage and absence of pre-nuptial love similarly economic independence of women, either partial or complete, necessitates adult marriage and pre-nuptial love. These are necessary adjustments for harmonious working of the family life. This will automatically involve a change in our moral outlook. We shall have to give up many of our cherished customs such as the purdah system and infant marriage, and introduce new ones such as freedom of the sexes; etc. At the top of our society such a transition is slowly taking place. The proposed law will probably accelerate its progress and bring it down to the common people.

It is a common saying that an Englishman's house is his fortress. Similarly we may claim that the house of a Hindu is his temple. There he daily worships his family deity and occasionally performs the religious rites and ceremonies as part of his duties towards the gods and ancestors. These entail expenditure which is naturally met from the family fund. If the daughters inherit a part of the house and take a share of the property they cannot be compelled or relied upon to look after the family deity or perform the annual and occasional rites of the family. Perchance they may even sell their share in the paternal home to undesirable persons and thereby destroy the sanctity of the house which lodges the family god and the ashes of the ancestors. This is a situation which most of the Hindus will abhor inspite of their apparent apathy towards religion.

Conclusion

In concluding this short analysis of the possible effects of the proposed law we should not silently pass over some of the notorious facts which must have induced our social reformers and legislators to change the present law of inheritance. The position of the childless widow in a Hindu home is really miserable at present in many instances. No one can deny it. With change in the nature of our family, our ideas about the position and usefulness of widows have changed. The Hindu widow is the last remnant of our ancient culture which eulogised renunciation over enjoyment. She

keeps this ideal alive in the midst of worldly pleasures which surround her in the joint family. She serves as an ideal to the growing children who are usually put into her charge. This is no mean task nor is it less useful than the food producing activities of the other members of the joint family. She is not a burden in such a group. But with the decline of the joint family and the exodus to the town she has become an useless burden. We have introduced new ideals in our society and new means of educating our children. Thus the widow has lost her utility in the family of her husband's brothers: she has become an unnecessary adjunct. This is neither her fault nor the fault of the other members of the family. This is the inevitable result of the change in the economic sphere of our life over which individually or even collectively we have very little control. It is the product of the times We are not to accuse any one for this change. But we cannot, at the same time, absolve ourselves of the negligence with which we have allowed this useful material to run to waste. Therein lies our guilt. Hindu society has not tried to find out some alternative useful work for the employment of its widows when the latter lost their utility in the changed atmosphere of the individual family life. Her position will not improve if she be given even absolute right over her husband's property as it has not done so when she was given a limited interest. Her present position is the product of a cultural adjustment which has its roots not only in her economic dependence but in various other factors, such as lack of education and of freedom of intercourse. The Parsi and Christian women and the women of the Marumkkattayam society of South India are certainly better educated and enjoy greater freedom of movement which have enabled them to manage their property successfully when they come to inherit it. We do not know the condition in the Jaina community but the Muslim women of Bengal cannot be said to enjoy the property of their husband unhampered by the disabilities we have already indicated. They are often the victims of human sharks who move in the neighbourhood of such possible preys. Human nature being what it is, the Bengali women will have to suffer till they are made fit to face the world equally with men physically, intellectually, socially and morally. Removal of legal disabilities should be preceded by this four-sided training. Is there any attempt to take up this work for the mass of our womanhood either by the government or by the society? Mere chivalrous support of their claims or ruthless denunciation of their demands will not solve the situation. There should be co-ordinated attempt between the government, society and women's organisations to shoulder the task of training women for a better life in future. Mere legislation will not help them to occupy their proper position.

THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF MUSEUMS

MINENDRANATH BASU, M.Sc., P.R.S.
Calcutta University

THE progress of man stands on the spread and acquisition of knowledge, and as such the education of the people is one of the most important functions of the state today. Universities have been set up and schools have been established over the whole country for the benefit of the people. But what we learn from books, in the schools, colleges and universities, are nothing but an acquisition of the knowledge of the records. All the past happenings of the world and the deeds of man are recorded in books and we have thus a theoretical approach to History. In the teaching of scientific subjects laboratories are set up, where the student has the opportunity of visual display and manual technicalities leading to clearer grasping of the actual happenings. But this is not possible in the case of every branch of study. In the case of geography we may present before the student maps, globes and other geographical charts, etc. But this even is incomplete for the comprehension of geography. A sphere can in no way be depicted on a plain surface, and maps are only a poor apology for the study of the world's surface. While in studying various other conditions of the earth maps are of little use. So for a better study of geography it is considered necessary to provide every institution with a geographical museum.

Thus do we find the necessity of having a museum. Its functions and importance we shall try to explain and understand in this short treatise. We shall show that though its actual growth and development is only a recent thing, it may be regarded as old as human civilization. There are various things in the world which grow spontaneously, but the real importance is realised only when they are too old. Museums may be regarded in this light.

Today the educative value of museums cannot be exaggerated. To see with one's own eyes the things as they occur in nature, as they gradually evolved or developed, or as they came into existence with the gradual development of human activities, or with gradual evolution, is the best method of study and comprehension and this is admitted on all hands. So almost every university in the world today has already started or is at least seriously taking up the task of setting up a museum of its own.

The word *Museum* is derived from the Greek word *Mouseion* which means the seat of the Muses. Thus the name Museum indicates a temple

of the Muses. Greek mythology tells us that the Muses were the daughters of Zeus, the Greek Jupiter. They were born in Pieria at the foot of Mount Olympus, the mountain of the gods. Nine of them were regarded as divinities who presided over the arts and sciences.

We find the word Museum used in its original sense in the Alexandrian Museum—a temple-house dedicated to the Muses, the Goddesses of Learning. Important collections of manuscripts, products of arts and crafts were placed under the charge of distinguished scholars there. Scholars from different countries used to gather there to learn at the feet of the famous masters whose names have not yet been forgotten—Ptolemy, Hero, Euclid and others.

The Bengali name for a museum is *Ajab-ghar* (Wonder House) or *Jadu-ghar* (Magic House). The names clearly indicate that the public have no idea that a museum is not merely an *Ajab-ghar* or *Jadu-ghar* but a veritable treasure house of knowledge, stimulating the spirit of research and helping education in all its phases.

After the destruction of the Alexandrian Museum nothing is known of any attempt at establishing an institution like it anywhere else. The oldest surviving museum established on a sound basis is the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. Elias Ashmole, an English antiquarian, was born at Lichfield on May 23, 1617. He became a solicitor. As a member of the College of Heralds he wrote 'The Institutions, Lands, and Ceremonies of the Order of the Garter' in 1672. In 1677 he presented to the University of Oxford the first public collection of antiquities in England, now preserved in the Ashmolean Museum. Apart from this, the first great and typical museum was the British Museum, established in the year 1753. Parliament granted a sum of £ 20,000 for the purpose. Boulton has remarked that "Among modern museums of national standing the British Museum takes a foremost place." Much later the Fitzwilliam Museum of Art and Archaeology was established at Cambridge and it is now a department of Cambridge University.

We know that the origin of modern museums may be found in the Renaissance of Europe. The revival of interest in the classics led to an interest in the relics of classical antiquity which impelled individuals to collect them. The growth of curiosity arising from the Renaissance led to the collection of materials connected with natural history and science. Towards the latter part of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century in the collection made by princes, nobles or humanists, may be found not merely the prototypes but actual beginnings of some of the great museums of today. Thus the Museum of Bologna may be traced back to the collections of the naturalist U. Aldrovandi from

1527 to 1605. The armours and coins collected by Ferdinand II at the end of the sixteenth century are also unique for a museum. For the most part great museums of Europe owe their origin to the royal and the princely collections which in the course of political changes have become the property of the great kingdoms and republics of today. The museums belonging to municipalities must be added to these and they are for the most part, the outcome of the nineteenth century.

Outside the British Isles the term Musée or Museum is applied to galleries which are devoted to art collections. But in the British Museum the term Museum is almost exclusively confined to collections of natural, scientific, historical or literary curiosities or objects of interest.

Museums, therefore, as we see from the above description, are not a modern introduction. The first one as already mentioned is said to have been established in Alexandria in 283 B.C. Even evidence of the existence of a kind of museum in Babylon, dating back considerably earlier, has been gathered from a number of museum exhibits found there. During the Middle Ages museums were unknown. Though there might have been individual small collections of curiosities, but they were viewed only as such and were not treated like the collections in our modern museums.

The functions of a museum are mainly educational and cultural, and not merely housing collections of curious objects, as the Bengali word *Ajab-ghar* or *Jadu-ghar* means. Thus the importance of a museum is twofold :—

1. A place of work for the scholar.
2. A place of instruction for the general public.

Boulton says, " The Museum is a veritable treasure-house for everybody who thinks beyond the every-day matters of human life. The wisdom and experience of the world are stored up there, and no thoughtful person should leave its door without gaining something from a visit."

" The Museum is a picture book of the history of man, and to study it is to enlarge one's comprehension of what man has done and what man can do. The universe of man, like the universe of nature, extends its boundaries daily before our eyes ; and it is in our museum that the story is displayed for the visitor to see."

Frederic Kenyon, a former Director of the British Museum, says, " Museums make a man more aware of the world he lives in, of its extension in time and space, of the materials of which it is composed, of the trees and plants with which it is covered, of the animals that have inhabited it from the earliest times, of the activities of man, of his achievements in craftsmanship and art. It illustrates written history and enlarges a man's

conception of the possibilities of his race; so it plays its part in enlarging his mind, in multiplying his interest and in making him a better citizen."

During the last century progress has been systematised and the museums have acquired a recognised place in the educational life of the civilised people.

The services of the museum to the general public are threefold:—

1. It stimulates curiosity, the gratification of which increases knowledge.
2. In some of its departments it ministers to aesthetic culture. It places before the visitor the beautiful products of nature and of art. It shows him what man has been able to create out of clay, stone or metal or by the use of pigments and so gives him means of training his taste and developing a cultivated appreciation of the beautiful; a service which, in a world where so many live in the midst of man-created ugliness, is on no account to be minimised.
3. It provides recreational, intellectual and aesthetic enjoyment.

The educational service of a museum is, or should be, not merely passive but active. It is not enough to build and stock a museum and to leave the lay public to find out its value for themselves. Markham and Hargreaves in their report (The Museums of India) say that "Museums provide opportunities for visual instruction which is more direct, impressive and more lasting than oral instruction."

Suryya. Stone.
c. 7th century A. D. Kasipur, 24 Parganas.
Asutosh Museum Collection.

Elephant and Bull Seals. Terracotta.
1st-2nd century A.D. Bangarh, Dinajpur.
Asutosh Museum Collection.

INDIAN HISTORICAL, ART AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES IN THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

DEVA PRASAD GHOSH, M.A.
Curator, Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University.

1. INTRODUCTION

OF the Indian Universities, the University of Calcutta was the first to undertake steps for the promotion of higher studies in Ancient Indian History and Culture. It is also the only Indian University which has been engaged in teaching art and archaeology to the Post-Graduate students, both theoretical and practical. For more than thirty years, the University has been actively encouraging historical and archaeological studies and research by (1) organising the Post-Graduate Department in Ancient Indian History and Culture, (2) instituting Readership Lectures by eminent experts, (3) collaborating with the Archaeological Survey of India, (4) organising field archaeology and archaeological excursions, and finally (5) establishing the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art.

The need for stimulating higher studies and research in Indian antiquities and unravelling India's glorious past was first realised by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Dr. G. Thibaut, the first Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture was appointed in 1912. Even before the foundation of the Department, young University scholars like H. C. Raychaudhuri, R. C. Majumdar, Kalidas Nag, S. C. Mukherji, while students of the General History Department, were attracted to the subject and they had also the privilege of being guided and trained in the Indian Museum by Dr. T. Bloch, Dr. Thibaut and Mr. R. D. Banerjee. In 1917 Sir Asutosh inaugurated the Post-Graduate Department in Ancient Indian History and Culture with special provision for studies in archaeology, *i.e.*, epigraphy and numismatics, as well as architecture, sculpture, painting and iconography. The services of Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar were lent by the Archaeological Survey, Government of India, and he was appointed the second Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department. The late Mr. N. G. Majumdar, Dr. P. C. Bagchi and Dr. H. C. Roy were among the first batch of students. Shortly after, Mr. R. P. Chanda, who later on became the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, joined as a Lecturer in Ancient Indian History and Anthropology. The late Prof. Panchanan Mitra also interested himself in the subject at this time, and later acted as the Hony. Curator of the Anthropology Department, Indian Museum. In 1922, the second All-India Oriental Conference, invited

to Calcutta by Sir Asutosh and divided into different sections of archaeology, was held under the presidency of Prof. Sylvain Levi.

During the same year another professorship, called the Bagiswari Professorship of Indian Fine Arts, was created out of the Khaira Endowments and attached to this Department for the promotion of the study of Fine Arts. Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore, C.I.E., was appointed the first Bagiswari Professor.

The idea of combining the theoretical as well as the practical aspects of archaeology was also conceived by Sir Asutosh. This is why he arranged with Sir John Marshall, the then Director General of Archaeology in India, on whom an honorary degree had been conferred by the University in 1921 to take up archaeological excavations at Paharpur, in the Rajshahi district of Bengal, under the leadership of Prof. Bhandarkar in 1922-23. The scheme was worked out in co-operation with the Archaeological Department and Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray of the Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi. Three University Lecturers of Ancient Indian History and Culture, *viz.*, Dr. N. Banerjee, Mr. N. G. Majumdar and Dr. H. C. Roy took part in the excavations for the season.

Several years afterwards, about 1929, Mr. N. G. Majumdar and Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, both University teachers, were appointed Officers in the Archaeological Department. Later on, in 1930-32, Mr. K. G. Goswami, a young University graduate, received training under Sir John Marshall, Mr. E. Mackay and Mr. N. G. Majumdar in field archaeology at Mohenjo-daro, Harappa and Taxila as Archaeological Scholar in the Archaeological Department. It is also to be noted that the first All-India Architectural Exhibition was held in 1932 in the Senate Hall under the auspices of the University.

Since 1908 the University has been organising a special course of Readership and Extension Lectures on Ancient Indian History and Culture by eminent scholars for the benefit of graduates engaged in research work or of those who wish to prosecute special studies. These lectures are also intended for advanced students of colleges and members of the outside public interested in education and culture, so as to create among them a desire for original investigations or research.

The University also provided facilities to its teachers and research scholars to visit archaeological sites and regularly organised archaeological excursions throughout India for Post-Graduate students of the Ancient Indian History and Culture, the History and the Oriental Languages Departments under competent teachers.

Finally, in 1936, during the Vice-Chancellorship of Dr. S. P. Mookerjee the scheme for establishing the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art was

approved in order to further stimulate the study of practical archaeology and appreciation of art, through excavation, exploration and exhibition. Mr. D. P. Ghosh, a student of the Ancient History Department, was appointed Curator and deputed to undergo training in the Indian Museum, and finally the Asutosh Museum was opened in 1937.

2. The University and the Archaeological Department

The University and the Department of Archaeology, Government of India, besides the interchange of Officers and Professors, as seen above, have been co-operating for a fairly long time in the matter of teaching archaeology and field work to students. Officers of the Department like R. D. Banerjee, R. P. Chanda, D. R. Bhandarkar, K. N. Dikshit, N. G. Majumdar, N. P. Chakravarti and T. N. Ramachandran, have been invited to deliver lectures to Post-Graduate students and value scripts and theses for Degree examinations. As Superintendents of the Eastern Circle or the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, several of them have been appointed Honorary Lecturers in the Post-Graduate Department. Their co-operation has assisted the inauguration and execution of the schemes of excavation at Paharpur and Bangarh undertaken by the University and the collection of archaeological, historical and artistic objects in the Asutosh Museum. The names of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit and the late lamented Mr. N. G. Majumdar may be specially mentioned in this connection. On the other hand, University Professors, Lecturers and Research Fellows have co-operated with the Archaeological Department in editing epigraphs, compiling lists of inscriptions, drawing up annual reports and taking a share in the work.

The Asutosh Museum is in charge of a Committee with which the Superintendent of the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, has been associated from the very beginning. The Museum has been included in the list of institutions to which coins acquired under the Treasure Trove Act are distributed by the Government of India (*vide* letter No. 14376 P, dated the 11th September, 1935, from the Under-Secretary, Government of Bengal to the Registrar, Calcutta University). It has also been enriched by duplicate sculptures from Bihar presented by the Trustees of the Indian Museum and the Director-General of Archaeology, some terracotta seals and votive tablets from Nalanda, as also a collection of rare ancient coins by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the late Director-General of Archaeology. Such collections would help in the comparative study of Indian art and archaeology.

In 1941 a short course scheme for specialised training in Museology was adopted with the co-operation of the Archaeological Department, but

unfortunately, it could not be given effect to immediately owing to the emergency situation then prevailing. It is, however, proposed to start the Course from November, 1944, in collaboration with the Department.

It may also be pointed out here that besides the Indian Museum there are a few other cultural institutions in Calcutta like the Vangiya Sahitya Parishat, the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Victoria Memorial Hall, etc., which have very useful collections of manuscripts, coins and valuable antiquities. In close collaboration with the Archaeological Survey and with the help and assistance of the above-mentioned institutions, a very well-equipped centre for the study of antiquities, art and museology may be developed in Calcutta.

3. Asutosh Museum of Indian Art (1937-1944)

The Asutosh Museum of Indian Art was opened in 1937 to collect and preserve representations of different phases of Indian Art, special emphasis being laid on the Art of Bengal. It was also decided to collect the very best types of Modern Art. In response to an appeal by Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, noted art-collectors and art connoisseurs readily agreed to help the growth of the Museum by gifts.

Visitors.—The number of visitors, mostly students and educationists, steadily increased as an index of its popularity. From 1,345 persons in 1937, it increased to 3,304 in 1941, which included 2,628 students, 150 teachers, 29 lecturers, 98 artists, etc. Many distinguished Indians and foreigners visited the Museum and recorded their appreciation, and many expressed surprise at the phenomenal growth of the Museum.

Exhibits.—The Museum opened only with 50 exhibits, which rose to 1,228 at the end of 1937 and 2,423 in 1938. They jumped to 6,000 by September, 1939. At the end of 1941, when it was decided to take emergency measures to meet the prevailing situation, the total number of exhibits was counted as 7,000, of which 500 large sculptures were buried underground and others consisting of 400 stones, 1,246 terracotta pieces, 483 paintings, 300 objects of folk art, 533 metal and ivory, 102 wood, 97 textiles, 250 manuscripts, 1,000 coins, 2,194 finds from Bangarh and 200 miscellaneous objects were shifted elsewhere. Steps are being taken to reopen the galleries, and for the purpose all the objects have been brought back to Calcutta.

Illustrating the different phases of Indian Art, specially of Eastern India, these objects particularly record the growth and development of the art of Bengal from the 1st century A.D. to the modern times in all its manifold aspects by examples of outstanding merit not found in any other museum. This Museum may also be considered as the nucleus of a

Visnu-patta. Stone.

c. 11th century A.D. Sherpur, Bogra.

Asutosh Museum Collection.

Gosthalila. Terracotta.

c. 17th century A.D. Bakresvar, Birbhum.

Asutosh Museum Collection.

Regional Museum for Eastern India possessing as it does representative specimens of the art of Bihar, Orissa and Assam.

Acquisitions.—The rapid growth of the Museum is mainly due to collection and acquisition, either through gift or purchase, of several large private collections.

A systematic scheme of collection in the different districts of Bengal, in which several under-graduate and post-graduate students, teachers of schools, and artists took part, yielded magnificent results. The Curator also succeeded, in the course of his tours in Bengal and Orissa, in securing unique objects of plastic and graphic arts.

Among the series of gifts to the Museum, undoubtedly the most noteworthy is that of Mr. Bijay Singh Nahar. He presented in 1939 almost the entire "Nahar Museum" containing more than 1,000 pieces and valued at approximately fifty thousand rupees. The late Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen also presented his valuable collection of Bengali and Assamese art to the Museum.

In 1939, Mr. Biren Roy's collection consisting of 1,500 objects of Orissan art was secured by purchase, as also the Dutt collection of Mazilpur which included some of the rarest stone carvings from the wilds of Sundarbans belonging to the Pala and Sena periods.

Excavations.—After the amendment, in 1933, of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1904, throwing open the work of archaeological excavation to non-departmental bodies, the Calcutta University was the first institution in India to come forward and ask for a licence from the Government of India in 1937 to carry out archaeological excavation at Bangarh (ancient Kotivarsa or Devikot) for the training of Post-Graduate students of Ancient Indian History in field archaeology as also for the replenishment of the Asutosh Museum with ancient relics. Accordingly, an Excavation Party was formed under the leadership of Mr. K. G. Goswami, who had received training in field archaeology at various important sites, *viz.*, Taxila, Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, etc., under the direct supervision of Sir John Marshall, Dr. Mackay and others. Research Fellows, Research Scholars, Post-Graduate students and a draftsman photographer took part in the excavation. A licence was secured from the Government of India after depositing a sum of Rs. 2,000 with them and the work was organised, conducted and financed by the University. During the first two seasons, the University Excavation Party received some help from the Eastern Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India in the shape of loan of excavation materials, etc., but the University has since made its own arrangements in these matters also. Excavation work has been carried out at Bangarh since the

winter of 1937-38 and continued for four successive winters, for two to three months each time, at an annual cost of Rs. 3,000 approximately on an average including salary of employees, wages of labourers, etc. On account of war conditions and internal disturbances in the Dinajpur district it was not possible to continue the field work at Bangarh during the last two winters, but nevertheless the activities of the University on these lines did not come to a standstill. In the mean time a Memoir was prepared by Mr. K. G. Goswami based on the materials of the Bangarh Excavations which reveal the history of Kotivarsa (ancient Bangarh) through successive ages going back to the Maurya-Sunga period. During this interval the University also deputed Mr. Goswami to Ramnagar (Ahichchhatra) excavations to study the methods of work there and also to Mainamati (near Comilla) where military diggings brought out a vast area of archaeological importance in Bengal of the Pala and perhaps even earlier periods. The University also got the ancient site of Mahanad (Dt. Hooghly) inspected through the Curator and Excavation Officer and surveyed the possibilities of undertaking excavations at that site which are engaging the attention of this institution at the present moment. The excavations at Bangarh have thrown fresh light on the dark periods of the history of Bengal. Five successive strata, reaching up to the Sunga level (1st century A.D.) and revealing numerous monuments, buildings and walls of the different periods, have been unearthed. Portable antiquities include some remarkable pieces of terracotta figures, inscribed seals and potteries and punch-marked silver coins and gold jewellery.

Other Activities.—Other activities of the Museum include the arrangement of a series of *popular lectures* on various aspects of art, Eastern and Western, by distinguished experts, the running of a *research laboratory* for the cleaning and preservation of exhibits, *guide-lectures* for the benefit of school and college students, the starting of a short term course of *Art Appreciation* for teachers and the preparation of a comprehensive *catalogue of exhibits*. A scheme of painted reproduction of selected examples of ancient Indian frescoes is also under way.

Publications.—Publication includes a Visitors' Guide, a set of pictorial cards representing the best examples of Bengal Sculpture and Hand Book on Museum Method. A series of handbooks in Bengali on various aspects of the art of Bengal, as preserved in the Museum, is under preparation. A Memoir on the excavations at Bangarh has been sent to the press. The Curator also published articles on the latest additions to the Museum.

Coin-Cabinet.—This is being enriched by regular gifts, for the last few years, from the Archaeological Survey of India, the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and the Governments of

Bihar, U. P., Madras, Punjab and C. P. It is now representative of the different periods of Indian History.

Museology.—In 1941 a short course scheme for specialised training in Museology was adopted with the co-operation of the Archaeological Department of India, but unfortunately, it could not be given effect to owing to the existing situation. It is proposed to start the course from November, 1944. It will include lectures on technical subjects as well as training in field archaeology.

Exhibitions.—The following exhibitions were organised by the Curator of the Museum:—

(1) The All-India History Congress and the Indian Historical Records Commission Exhibition, 1938.
(2) The Calcutta Geographical Exhibition, 1941.
(3) The All-India Buddhist Art Exhibition in 1941 (in connection with the abandoned Centenary Celebrations of the Mahabodhi Society).
(4) The Children's Art Exhibition, 1943.
(5) Exhibition of Contemporary Indian Paintings, 1943.
(6) Exhibition of Paintings of Phanibhushan, 1943.
(7) Exhibition of Photographs of Mediaeval Indian Sculpture, 1944.
(8) Exhibition in connection with Sir Gooroodass Centenary Celebrations, 1944.

ULAMAS UNDER THE SHARQI KINGS OF JAUNPUR (1394-1500 A. D.)

A. F. KALIMULLAH, M.A.

JAUNPUR[1] was but a provincial capital of the subah Jaunpur which flourished during the period of decadence of the later Tughlaqs (1351-1388) and the Lodis (1451-1526 A. D.). Geographically, it was called Sharqi[2] the Eastern, because it lay to the east of Delhi. The kingdom of Jaunpur existed only for a little more than three-quarters of a century, but during this brief space of time, it created a place, nay a permanent place for itself, in the cultural life of Hindustan. Its art and architecture have left distinct and permanent traces in the history of the Medieval culture of India. The Sharqi architecture charmed the art critics of Hindustan so much that Fuhrer[3] and Fergusson[4] repaid the debt of gratitude to the beauty of the Sharqi art, by writing a volume on it. Jaunpur has justly won the distinction of the "Shiraz[5] of Hind."

Jaunpur was under the Sharqi kings[6] "the Focus of splendour, the Shrine of Empire, the meeting place of the most unique intellects of the Age, the Horizon of the literary stars of the world and the Fair of the greatest scholars of the period."

But none up till now has attempted to write on the intellectual luminaries who shone on the firmament of Jaunpur and who represented the other side of the minds of the Sharqis. What the architects represented by brick and mortar the intellectuals represented by pen and ink.

Here below we have attempted to give a brief review of the contemporary Ulamas of Jaunpur, representing the Sharqi Age.

[1] Here we confine ourselves to discussing the subject under the lights of (*a*) Tadhkirat-ul-Ulama by Maulana Khairuddin Muhammad of Jaunpur, edited in the original Persian with the English Translation, notes, etc., by Muhammad Sanaullah, M.A., published by Abul Faiz Muhammad Abdur Rahman, Calcutta, 1934. (*b*) Akhbarul Akhyar-fi-Asrarul Abrar by Maulana Shah Abdul Huq Muhaddis Dehlavi, edited by Maulvi Hafiz Muhammad Abdul Ahad, Ramdhan 1309 A. H., published by Mujtabai Press, Delhi, 1309 A. H. (*c*) Tazkira-i-ulama-i-Hind by Hazrat Rahman Ali Khan Sahib, published by Noalkishor Press, Lucknow, 1894 A. D.

[2] From Sharq (شرق) Rising, place of sunrise, *i.e.*, Eastern. Hence the dynasty of Jaunpur is known as Sharqi.

[3] The Sharqi architecture of Jaunpur by A. Fuhrer, Ph.D., printed and published by the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, Calcutta, 1889.

[4] History of Indian Architecture by Fergusson.

[5] Capital of the province of Fars in Iran, the town was regarded as the intellectual capital of Persia because of the many poets and litterateurs that sprang up from this soil.

[6] Passage translated by E. G. Browne in his "Literary History of Persia," Vol. I, pp. 365, from the original Yatimatud-Dahr of Abu Mansur Abdul Malik of Nishapur (961-1038 A. D.).

The passage speaks of the glory of Bukhara under the Samanids (874-999 A. D.).

(1) Maulana Sharaf-Uddin Lahori [1]

A distinguished scholar, a prominent spiritualist and a man of deeds, Maulana Saraf-Uddin Lahori belonged to the period of Khwaja Jahan [2] (1394-1399 A. D.).

The profound learning of the Maulana deeply impressed Khwaja Jahan and he admired the qualities of Maulana's head and heart. When Sultan Mahmud Shah Tughlaq bestowed on Khwaja Jahan the title of Sultan-us-Sharq, Khwaja Jahan took the Maulana from Lahore to Delhi and introduced him to the king. The king in appreciation of the Maulana's scholarship conferred on him the coveted honour of Malik-ul-Ulama (the King of the Elites).

Khwaja Jahan when deputed to Jaunpur brought down Maulana Sharf-ud-Din with him and built for him a madrasah, a mosque and a monastery in the very neighbourhood where he erected his Badi Manzil (Royal palaces). Nor was this all. Khwaja Jahan when attached to the Maulana used to visit him every day and performed his daily prayers with him. The Maulana died in 800 A. H. and according to his injunctions his dead body was carried from Jaunpur to Lahore.

(2) Qazi Shihabuddin Daulatabadi [3]

Qazi Shihabuddin ibn Shamsuddin bin Amay Azwali was born at Daulatabad. He took his lessons from Qazi Abdul Muqtadir Dehlavi and Maulana Kwajgi, disciple of the famous Maulana Muniruddin Imrani. In the prime of his life he had attained the fame of a scholar, so much so that the contemporary scholars bowed down their heads before him. His reputation in the realm of learning and scholarship went even beyond the confines of India. He was unanimously held as the best scholar of the time of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi (1402-1436 A. D.). Just on the eve of Timur's avalanche (Dec., 1398 A. D.) in Delhi, Qazi Shihabuddin with his master Maulana Khwajgi left Delhi and hastened to Kalpi. Maulana Khwajgi stayed there, while Qazi Shihabuddin proceeded to Jaunpur. He was warmly welcomed by Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi. The Sultan, as the great patron of learning and lover of scholars lavished gifts on the

[1] Only Tazkira-i-Ulama by Khairuddin Muhammad Jaunpuri gives a brief sketch of his life.

[2] Muhammad Tughlaq, son of Firuz Tughlaq, who reigned from (1390-1394 A. D.) made one of his eunuchs, Malik Sarwar, his Prime Minister, honoured him with the title of Khwaja Jahan (Lord of the World). On the death of Muhammad and on the accession of his son Muhammad Tughlaq (1394-1396 and from 1399-1413 A. D.) that monarch in the month of Jamadiul-Awwal 796, March, 1394, conferred on his minister the additional title of Malik-us-Sharq or Sultan-us-Sharq and appointed him Governor of the Estern provinces of the Empire. In the same year the minister threw off his allegiance to Delhi and established himself at Jaunpur.

[3] All the three books which I have made use of deal with his biography.—

Qazi, and honoured him with the title of Malikul Ulama (The king of the scholars). The Sultan built for the Qazi a special Madrasah, and royal palaces by the side of the Masjid-i-Jame. It was almost a duty on the part of Ibrahim Sharqi to visit the Madrasah after Jumma prayers and bestow presents on the Qazi as well as on the students. The Maulana became the inspiring figure and the guiding light to the Madrasah of Jaunpur, for soon he was called upon to take the duty of imparting education in the capital of the Sharqis. Comfortably placed in life and having all the help of an oriental king, Qazi Shihabuddin devoted himself to the task of writing books.

Here are some of them:

1. Bahr-i-Mawwaj—"The Roaring Ocean." This book is a commenatry on the Holy Quran. It excels in the manner of its expressions. The meaning of conclusions and ideals are full well discussed. It also contains exhaustive explanatory notes on ambiguous points concerning the Quran.

2. Marginal notes on Kafiya. The book is unsurpassed in the manner of expression. It is unique. It is one of the few books which gave fame to its author during his life-time.

3. Irshad-i-Matan-i-Nahav. A discourse on Syntax. The similes quoted in it are excellent from the viewpoint of both the explanatory purpose they serve as well as the fine poetry they contain. The subject-matter has been approached scientifically. Its prose is lucid and charming. The marginal notes on Kafiya as well as on Irshad are preserved in the Library of Mufti Ali Kabir Machlishahri.

4. Badaiul-Balaghat or Badaiul-Mizan "Wonders of Rhetoric" or "The Rare Scale." It is a text on rhetoric written in an ornate, elegant, and rather pompous style.

5. Commentaries on the Principle of Baswadi.

6. Commentaries on the Qasida of Banat-i-Sa'd.

7. Pamphlets on the Classification of Knowledge.

8. Fatawa-i-Ibrahimi.

9. Manaqib-us-Sadat, a Treatise on the praise of the Sayyads. In it the author demonstrates at length the great love he had for Ahl-i Bait, "The decendants of the Holy Prophet." The reason which led to the writing of this pamphlet is related thus:

There was a Sayyad, named Sayyad Sadar-i-Jahan-i-Ajmal, vizier of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi. He was very scholarly. Qazi Shihabuddin had some differences with him on the precedence in sitting in the assembly of the Sultan. The Qazi explained his superiority and his precedence

over the Ignorant Alid. But soon the Qazi realised his mistakes and was reconciled to the Sayyad. The Treatise is therefore, a sort of apologia in that connection. Some hold that the Qazi was ordered by the Prophet in dream on the very night to patch up differences with the Sayyad. The Qazi to seek pardon of the Sayyad wrote this treatise, which is a frank confession of his mistaken notion.

Prosperity begets jealousy. Qazi Shihabuddin was soon a prey to to the intrigues of the court. Embarrassed by the court-jealousy he sought the advice of his teacher Maulana Khwajgi. The following verse came as a reply :

"Oh you before your praise flows from any pen, it is incumbent on your part to praise the people of the east and west, *i.e.*, the whole world."

"The world gains much by the permanence of your life, may he not exist who wants not your permanence."

The verses gave heart to the helpless Maulana and he faced the intrigues of the court squarely.

Maulana Shihabuddin could even compose verses. Specimens of his poetry are extant. One of his distiches (قطعات) which he wrote to Ibrahim Sharqi begging for a slave girl to end his monotonous celibacy, is very famous. Here is the quotation :

"This humble passion whose punishment is fire, leads me astray and therefore deserves disgrace."

"Send me such a one as would set the foot on my head and consequently do away with all the vanity and ego in me."

As Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi immensely valued the writings of Qazi Shihabuddin, he engaged calligraphists to copy them out. These copies were sent to the kings of Iran, Turkistan, Constantinople and Syria as gifts from the court of the Sharqis. The writings of Qazi Shihabuddin were preserved also in gold and silver as a mark of respect to the author and because of the importance of the subject-matter they dealt with.

Farishta is of opinion that Qazi Shihabuddin traces his origin from Ghazna. He was brought up at Daulatabad in the Deccan. Ibrahim Sharqi had great regard for him. On auspicious days the Qazi used to occupy a chair made of silver in the assembly of the intellectual luminaries of the time, arranged by Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi. The Shah's love and affection for the Maulana can be well understood from the story related thus :

"Once Qazi Shihabuddin fell ill and Shah Ibrahim visited him. After enquiring into some questions regarding the physician's treatment, medicine and illness, the king asked for a glass or water. Waving the

glass thrice round the head of the said Qazi, the Shah drank it and prayed to God to spare the life of the Qazi and to take his instead."

Qazi Shihabuddin died on the 25th Rajab, 849 A. H., at Jaunpur.[1] His resting place is on the northern side of the famous Atala Mosque, built by Sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi.

(3) Maulana Allahdad Jaunpuri[2]

Maulana Alahdad Jaunpuri was one of the great scholars of Jaunpur. He belonged to the period of Sultan Husayn Shah Sharqi (1456-1500 A.D.). He was a direct disciple of the famous Qazi Shihabuddin of Daulatabad and a follower of the great Raji Hamid Shah of Manikpur. He dedicated his whole life to the pursuit of knowledge and writing useful books. On the authority of Maasirul-Kiram we learn that he had the intelligence and capacity to write well, to speak well and to explain well the intricate problems of theology. He had great command over language and diction. Authenticity was one of the great traits of all his writings. The following are among the best books of the age of Maulana Alahdad:

1. Commentaries on Hidaya
2. Volumes of Essays on Jurisprudence
3. Commentries on Bazwadi
4. Marginal notes on the Foot-notes on Hindi
5. Marginal notes on the Commentary of Madarik

Most of these treatises were written at the request of Sultan Husayn Shah Sharqi. The author, therefore, as a mark of gratitude dedicated to him his Prefaces to the commentaries on Bazwadi and Jurisprudence. The Sultan was gratified and in return granted him a handsome amount. The author being more of a charitable disposition and less of a worldly-wise distributed the sum amongst the poor and needy, proving once more that Art can be cultivated only for Arts's sake.

Maulana Alahdad and Shaikh Hasan bin Talib, another great intellect of the age, were contemporaries and they became close friends. Both of them had passion for the search of knowledge and the quest of the path of Righteousness. Shaikh Hasan bin Talib had become the follower of Raji Hamid Shah Manikpuri, a great ascetic of the age. Maulana Alahdad did not approve of this blind submission of a man to another. Hasan bin Talib requested his dear friend first to study his "Pir" in close quarters and then to pronounce his judgment. Coming into personal

[1] Khairuddin Muhammad's Tazkiras,i-Ulama gives the date of his death as 848 A.H. Akhbarul Akhyar mentions no date. Tazkira-i-Ulama-i-Hind, however, gives the date 849 A.H.

[2] All the three books which I have made use of mention his name.

touch with Raji he soon began to admire the qualities of Raji and finally he himself turned to be one of his disciples. After that, the Maulana in course of time, entirely devoted himself to the path of Righteousness and dedicated his life in defence of his faith. Henceforth his was the most ascetic and austere life. He died in 932 A.H.

(4) Qazi Abdul Muqtadir Sharihi[1]

Born in 603 A.H., Qazi Abdul Muqtadir Sharihi, son of Qazi Ruknuddin Sharihi al-kandi, was yet another remarkable talent of the period of Ibrahim Sharqi (1402-1436 A.D). He was a disciple of the famous Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmud and a teacher of the most renowned scholar Qazi Shihabuddin Daulatabadi.

His fame rests on the fact that he was essentially a good writer and a perfect Dervish. His was a generous heart too.

He is the writer of many ghazals and qasidas. His qasida-i-Lamiyya written in the praise of the Prophet reveals the poetic genius of the composer.

Intensely devoted to the study of his religion, he gave out the benefits of his deep meditations and rigorous religious practices to the suffering humanity. "Meditation on the single problem of Islam," says the learned Qazi, "is better than hundreds of prayer performed with hypocrisy and insincerity." Qazi Nasiruddin Mahmud had a great affection for the Qazi and to perpetuate it he wrote out a book for him which is very important for the Qazi's biographical sketches.

The book is named Maniqibus-Siddiqin "in Praise of the Truthfuls." Manaqibus Siddiqin mentions in detail the warm reception accorded to Qazi Abdul Muqtadir by Qazi Shihabuddin and Sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi. The esteem and honour with which Qazi was held can be judged from the fact that the Sultan Ibrahim himself came out to receive the Qazi at a distance of 24 miles, when he heard the arrival of the Qazi at Jaunpur. Sultan never failed in his duty to pay his respect to the Qazi once a week.

The Qazi was also skilful in discovering mysteries, for once he warned Qazi Shihabuddin of his bad intention to bury a piece of gold, which to the astonishment of Qazi Shihabuddin was too true to be contradicted. The Qazi stayed at Jaunpur only for a year, but even in that very short period many non-believers were converted to the fold of Islam through the blessings of his association. As age crept in, the Qazi could no longer continue his duties. Deputing his son Abdul Wahid in his place he left Jaunpur and

[1] All the three Tazkiras which I have made use of give his life sketch.

retired to Delhi. There he died at the ripe age of 88 on the 26th Muharram 791 A.H.

His grave is situated at Khwaja Qutubud-Din's to the northern side of Hawz-i-Shamsi, better known as Khanqah-i-Saikh Abdus Samad.

Shaikh Bahauddin Jaunpuri [1]

A pupil and a follower of Shaikh Muhammad Isa, Shaikh Bahauddin Jaunpuri is one of the most reputed scholars of the time of Husain Shah Sharqi (1458_8-1500 A.D). A master in the practices of self-denial, he renounced the world and devoted himself to the love of God. Sultan Husayn Shah Sharqi in appreciation of the Shaikh's learning, built a spacious monastery for him and granted few Mawzas (villages) to meet its expenses. The monastery soon turned into an educational institution where students from all parts of India flocked together. It was also an asylum to the poor and the needy where they could get food, comfort and peace.

Bahauddin was honoured with the "robe of "Khilafat" by Sayyad Raji Ahmad as predicted by his teacher Muhammad Isa on his death-bed. As it was the injunction of his dying teacher, Bahauddin accepted the honour.

Qazi Nasiruddin Gunbazi [2]

Yet another great scholar of the age of Ibrahim Shah Sharqi (1402-1436 A.D). A darvish *par excellence*, he used to shun the society of kings, nobles, and amirs. Truly a "lord of contentment, he loved the "poor splendour" of a scholar more than the cheap fame of a social life. He underwent the most rigorous practices for the purification of his soul and made his disciples do the same. Most of his disciples on account of weakness and starvation caused by these practices used to keep standing by the help of a chain, which they carried to the monastery, so that they might not fall on the ground.

That Nasiruddin Gunbazi was a man of deep learning can well-nigh be judged from the fact that Qazi Shihabuddin, the most famous and distinguished scholar of the age of Ibrahim Shah Sharqi, sent his treatise "Marginal notes of Kafiya" to Nasiruddin for his opinion, comment, and final approval.

[1] His life sketch has been mentioned only by Tazkira's Khairuddin Muhammad and Rahman Ali Khan.

[2] All the three Tazkiras make references to him.

Nasiruddin Gunbazi is also the author of "Munshaib-i-Sarf" which is an indispensible book for the beginners. It deals with the etymological parts of Arabic grammar.

Shaikh Abul Fath [1]

Born in the 14th Muharram, 772 A.H., Shaikh Abul Fath was the follower and disciple of his own grandfather Qazi Abdul Muqtadir. Like a faithful and obedient son, he followed the footsteps of his father, renounced the world, and practiced asceticism. His life was a dedication to the benefits of the people. He ungrudgingly bestowed the benefits of his learning who came to him in quest of knowledge. As it was usual with Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, Shaikh Abul Fath was also held in high esteem by him. The Sultan frequented his monastery, and as a mark of respect used to kiss its threshhold. The Shaikh's monastery, in course of time, became a sort of university to the seeker of knowledge and an asylum to the destitutes. The Shaikh is generally known as "Gold Rainer." This title he received because, as the story runs, once gold rained in his monastery. This story in all intents and purposes, seems to be more of a fiction than a history ; for his disciples who have preserved his life-sketches, his biographers and even his sons do not mention this miracle, so widely current among the common people.

Shaikh Abul Fath was well-versed in writing qasidas and poetry both in Arabic and Persian. He is also the author of certain pamphlets as the result of the differences of opinion he had with the great Qazi Shihabuddin dealing with the principles of al-Kalam and on other minor points of Jurisprudence.

Shaikh Isa of Delhi [2]

Shaikh Isa of Delhi was a vicegerent and son-in-law of Mir Jahan Sayyad Bukhari. During the difficult times of Timur's invasion in India, he left Delhi with other Ulamas. Sultan Ibrahim Shah truly a "kidnapper" of the scholars, invited Shaikh Isa to grace the Sharqi court. As circumstanced, Shaikh Isa readily agreed to the proposal. Ibrahim Shah, built for the Shaikh a monastery where he lived in peace and contentment. The Sultan, amirs, nobles and princes used to visit the monastery once a week for their spiritual elevation. When in the agony of death in 794 A. H., Shaikh Isa gave the injunction that his tomb should be situated in a place where the students kept their shoes. Such was the inimitable humility of the Shaikh and respect for the seekers of knowledge. His last wish was,

[1] Rahman Ali Khan's Tazkira-i-Ulama-i-Hind does not mention his name.
[2] Only Khairuddin Muhammad's Tazkiratul Ulama mentions his biography.

however, carried, and he was buried in the court-yard of his Madrasah, behind the Jame' Masjid of Sultan Husayn Sharqi.

Shaikh Isa left four sons, Khwaja Ahmad, Khwaja Muhammad, Khwaja Hamid and Khwaja Mahmud. According to his father's instructions, Khwaja Ahmad went to Bihar and settled there. The rest permanently stayed at Jaunpur.

Hazrat Muhammad bin Hazrat Isa[1]

Muhammad Isa belonged to the period of Sultan Mahmud Sharqi (1436-1458 A.D.) and Sultan Husayn Sahrqi (1458-1500 A.D.). At the time of Timur's invasion of India, he accompanied his father to Jaunpur, when he was only 8 years old. At first he became the disciple of Shaikh Fathullah Jaunpuri a figure renowned in learning and piety, but according to the behest of his master, he became the follower of the famous Qazi Shihabuddin, who was destined to prepare Muhammad Isa for his spiritual perfection.

Intelligent and painstaking from his early life, he at the early age of 14 attained perfection in exoteric and esoteric learnings. From that time onward he began to impart education under the benign guidance of his father. On the death of his father, he succeeded to his father's rank and became spiritual guide. He then renounced this "gross materialistic world" and underwent most rigorous religious practices. It is said that for 40 years he did not come out from his closet, and what is most strange, he did not place his back on the ground for 12 years and even did not care to look to the sky. These days he entirely devoted himself to his spiritual attainments.

Leading such a life of renunciation and godliness, it was but natural that Hazrat Muhammad Isa, should refuse the alluring presents of gold and silver offered by the amirs, the princes and even the contemporary Sultan. Once Sultan Husayn Sharqi sent some presents to the Hazrat, but he in the ecstacy of his spirit of self-denial, refused the offer and sent the following verses instead :—

"I will not exchange my coarse garment for the royal robe.
Nor will I give up my poverty for the country of Solomon.
The treasures I have found by dint of the affliction of poverty.
I will exchange it not for the comforts of the kings."

This curt reply would have easily wounded the feelings of any oriental king. Sultan Husayn Sharqi was no exception to it. But his reverence for the learned Muhammad Isa did not wane a bit.

[1] His accounts are mentioned by Khairuddin Muhammad's Tazkiratul Ulama and by Akhbarul Akhyar.

The respect that Sultan Husayn had for Muhammad Isa can be understood by the fact that once the Sultan happened to shake hands with the Hazrat, whose hand was besmeared with mud and clay. Hazrat cleansed his hand with a piece of cloth which the Sultan preserved for his coffin.

Though growing weaker day by day, Hazrat Muhammad Isa still performed his Jumma prayer in the Special Mosque of the king, a portion of which is still seen in the mohallah Daruba. Sultan Mahmud Sharqi wanted to built a mosque and a monastery for the Hazrat's convenience near about his (Hazrat's) residence and consequently sought for permission. The permission was forthcoming and the work was started, but Mahmud Sharqi died in the interval and it was left to Husayn Shah Sharqi to complete it.

With the flight of Husayn Shah to Bengal (884-1479), Jaunpur lost its eminence as a political capital. Naturally the royal patronage to scholars was also waning, yet the flow of Ulamas continued ; the Madrasa of Jaunpur still attracted a large number of scholars and the city was regarded almost as a centre of pilgrimage by the seekers of knowledge. Scholars that came after 1479 A.D., onward for about half a century were but the products of the age. Unseen influence of ths patronage of the bygone kings of Jaunpur could be easily felt in their life and work. The eclectic culture of the mediaeval Hindustan owes no small debt of gratitude to the Sharqi kings of Jaunpur for their ungrudging patronage to the scholars of the age.

Miscellany

BENOY SARKAR

WAGES IN ECONOMIC PROGRESS

While examining *arthik unnati* (economic progress) economists as a rule discuss the question of wages and the workingmen's standard of living. It is the problems of distribution or rather the ethical questions of equity and justice that form the main topic in the analysis of economic progress. We may recall John Stuart Mill's discussion on the "probable futurity of the labouring classes" in his *Principles of Political Economy* (1848). The American economist Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* (1879) was a contribution to the same topic. In "Two Theories of Economic Progress" in Arnold Toynbee's *Industrial Revolution* (first edition, 1884) we encounter the same problem. The "conditions of economic progress" as discussed by J. E. Thorold Rogers have reference to similar socio-cultural aspects of the masses (*Industrial and Commercial History of England*, London, 1909, Ch. II).

It is, again, the employment conditions, wage rates and standard of living of the industrial workers that arrest the attention of Eur-American economists, Marshall, Pigou, Keynes and Cole; Schumacher, Adolf Weber, Herkner, Bücher and Brentano; Colson, Yves-Guyot, Baudin and Raymond; Luzzatti, Graziani, Tivaroni, Einaudi and Mortara; Taussig, Mitchell, Veblen and Douglas,—while they each in his own way occupy themselves with the problems of *arthik unnati*. It is superfluous to observe that every economist has a social philosophy, express or tacit. More or less allied problems are envisaged by Cannan (*A Review of Economic Theory*, London, 1929, pp. 421-422, 434-437) in his treatment of the facts of progress in equality, security and independence.

It is necessary to observe here that the aspects of *arthik unnati* (economic progress) with which every study of the world-economic equations is associated are not identical with the problems of poverty, earnings, efficiency and standard of living. The topics of social justice, equitable distribution of wealth, and improvements in the standard of living for the teeming millions are not the main or the only features of the theory of economic progress. Such problems of the poorer classes and their income, nutrition, recreation may often be taken for granted.

THE DIVERSITY OF ECONOMIC INDICES

The chief and almost exclusive attention may also be bestowed on the quantitative appraisal of the most diverse categories of economic phenomena. The labour equations and other topics of social economics constitute but a part of the problems envisaged within the scope of techno-economic investigations. The fundamental question in every topic assumes the following form or forms: What is the *per capita* value of the present moment? What is the *per capita* value likely to be at some future moment? What are the differences in *per capita* value between any two regions at the present moment? Is it possible for a region with a relatively low *per capita* value to catch up with a region of higher *per capita* value? In such *per capita* discussions the wage-indices have their place as much as the indices of insurance pemium, shipping clearance, or infant motality. It is implied that whatever be the social philosophy, its manifestations or results are bound to appear in the *per capita* indices. *Arthik unnati* (economic progress) cannot imply anything other than the heightening of these indices.

Thus considered, the theory of *arthik unnati* is indifferent to the questions generally raised in connection with the achievements of Soviet Russia. In regard to the problems of capitalism *vs.* communism (private capitalism *vs.* state capitalism) the only questions worth while are identical with the ones suggested above. The fundamental inquiry is as follows:—Is industrial efficiency *per capita* higher in Soviet Russia than in Germany, England or America? In how many years, if at all, is it possible for Soviet Russia to catch up with the Anglo-German techno-industrial efficiency or socio-economic standard of living? The questions of economic progress about Soviet Russia are of the same order as those about India, China and Iran in regard to the prospects of catching up, say, with Japan. From the standpoint of economic indices *per capita* there is no capitalism and no communism. The indices tell their own tale as pragmatically as conceivable. We see only the higher or the lower indices in the fields under discussion, no matter whether the region be communistic or bourgeois.

Similarly economic indices are indifferent to the questions of climate, race, religion and so forth. The categories, pre-capitalistic or non-capitalistic, again mean hardly anything when the sole consideration is the value of the index *per capita*. Tawney, following Max Weber's *Religions sociologie*, considers capitalism to be something irreligious and unspiritual in his *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (London, 1926). His *Acquisitive Society* (1921) embodies likewise a moralist's review of the world as it is. But such considerations do not affect the problem of the equations of world-economy or the theory of *arthik unnati*. Even under conditions of irreligion, injustice, and unspirituality there may be high indices *per capita* in certain regions and low in others. In the so-called pre-capitalistic and spiritual epochs also there were the higher and the lower economic indices.

ECONOMIC PROGRESS AND POLITICS

Nay, the science of *arthik unnati* is indifferent as much to political independence as to political subjection. Statistically, it is demonstrable that under conditions of political independence the economic indices *per capita* are not necessarily high, indeed, may very often be unusually low. On the other hand, under conditions of political subjection the *per captia* values may continue to rise, although often on very low levels.

We have to note, further, that low or modest *arthik unnati* (economic progress) *per capita* does not prevent a region from enjoying political independence and displaying remarkable military-political power. In spite of poverty and low standard of living Soviet Russia has been exhibiting the highest values in politics and war. Japan likewise has known how to function as a modern world-conqueror although she has exceedingly low techno-industrial and socio-economic indices.

Altogether, in the study of the equations of world-economy and the theory of economic progress we are not called upon to accept any philosophy of social justice either from Adam Smith and Ricardo to Hobson, Truchy, Diehl, de Stefani, and Seligman, or from Godwin and Marx to Jaurès, Loria and Lenin. Nor is any political philosophy from Herder to Hitler, from Alfieri and Mazzini to Mussolini, from Rousseau to Roosevelt, or from Rammohun to Gandhi the invariable postulate in these investigations. All these and other philosophies are not to be ignored. They are valuable in themselves as well as for their guidance in "class" or "national" dynamics. But they stand on their own merits and their applicability will depend on the circumstances of each case. The decisive factor in their application is perhaps the personal equation of each researcher, publicist or statesman.

Arthik unnati is not the function of any special philosophy, social, political or international. The science or art of economic progress possesses a *swaraj* (independence) of its own. It cannot be subordinated to any other discipline. Like *Geopolitik* it is orientated to the most diverse *vishva-shakti* (world-forces).

Round the World

John Bull's Other Island

The close proximity of Ireland to Britain has not been an unmixed blessing for the former country. There is a wide gulf between the Irish and the English *ethos*. Unlike the phlegmatic English, the Irish are vivacious, temperamental, intensely nationalistic—with a long memory for all the past wrongs they have suffered at the hands of their powerful neighbour. They remember the ruthless Anglo-Norman attempts at conquest and settlement, which failed and left them separate races. They remember the Elizabethan régime when the Earl of Essex harried the land with fire and sword. They remember too the massacres of Wexford and Drogheda and the settlement of Cromwellian soldiers, which was the beginning of Protestant Ulster. The native Irish remained faithful to Catholicism, the faith of their fathers. A long period of misrule and repression followed. The racial and religious rift was not filled up. Ireland was sacrificed to Ulster and even Ulster to Lancashire. In recent years, the misdeeds of Sir John Anderson's "Black and Tans" did not help the Irish to forget their wrongs. The festering sore of outraged nationalism was never healed.

Parnell was the spear-head of Irish nationalism. Eamon de Valera is the battering-ram of Irish independence. His ideal of a free and united Ireland has not been fully realised, but what he has achieved is a free state which is *in* the British Commonwealth and yet not *of* it. Although the Irish have been made to feel the mailed fist of Britain's power and subjected to all kinds of pressure—diplomatic, political and economic—under his leadership, they have not deviated from the straight path of strict neutrality, which has saved them from the horrors of war. The recent election, in which the beloved leader of Eire has swept the polls, is a complete vindication of his policy and has finally established, if such proof were necessary, that the vast majority of the Irish people are body and soul with him.

Gallant Finland

Here, in India, people know little and care less about the smaller countries of Europe although some of them, like the Scandinavian lands, have reached the high water mark of civilisation and culture. Finland is a picturesque region of lakes and forests between Russia and Sweden, the Arctic and the Baltic—a large area with a small population of Turko-Mongol origin. The old Finns produced that masterpiece of literature—the epic "Kalevala." The modern Finns have produced a musician of the stature of Sibelius, whose compositions are full of the magic of fiord and forest, brooding in a northern twilight or enlivened by the enchanting colours of the Aurora Borealis. Helsinki is famed among the capitals of Europe for the originality and excellence of its modern architecture. In matters of health and hygiene, economics and education, the Finns have gone far ahead of large and powerful European nations.

Although, from the Middle Ages to Napoleonic times, Finland formed part of the Swedish Kingdom, the Finns have clung to their own language and national tradition. After the Napoleonic Wars, they were forcibly incorporated in the Russian Empire, where their lot was of the hardest. By non-co-operation, they compelled Czarist Russia to recognise their political rights. As a result of the last World War, Finland gained her freedom. The Finns were the only European nation to honour their war debt to America.

Twenty years later, this sturdy race, with a high standard of living and advanced democratic ideas, fell a prey to the relentless imperialistic ambition of Communist Russia. In this struggle of David against Goliath, the Russian giant cut a sorry figure in the eyes of the world. There were limits, however, to the endurance of a small nation and Finland was forced to sign a unilateral treaty on the 13th of March, 1940, with frontiers drawn entirely in Russia's favour. Though not mentioned in the course of the peace negotiations, extravagant demands followed for demilitarisation of the Finnish defensive system of the Aaland Isles, control of the valuable Petsamo nickel mines, cession of the great Imatra source of hydro-electric power and surrender of the bulk of their rolling-stock. The Russian designs to get a stranglehold of their victim were frustrated; the Finns rightly resisted these unjust demands but remained on the defensive. All Finnish attempts to promote commercial and cultural relations with the Russians were rebuffed.

When Germany invaded Russia on the 22nd of June, 1941, ten Finnish towns were ruthlessly bombed by the Russians without any provocation. In despair, Finland turned to Germany for aid to repel the Russian aggressor. After regaining their ceded territory, they stood again on the defensive. They did not take part in the offensive against Leningrad, but their forbearance has borne no fruit. Repeated peace negotiations have failed. Communist Russia has now for the third time invaded Finland. The Finns fear the Teuton but dread the Slav. All Finns want peace but peace with honour, which will enable them to survive as an independent nation. We cannot do better than to recall Mr. Churchill's own words:

"Finland—superb, nay, sublime . . . the service rendered by Finland to mankind is magnificent . . .

We cannot tell what the fate af Finland may be, but no more mournful spectacle could be presented to what is left of civilised mankind than that this splendid northern race should be at last worn down and reduced to servitude worse than death."*

The Eternal City

In her eventful existence of nearly two thousand and seven hundred years, Rome has witnessed many dramatic incidents and passed through many vicissitudes. In her long career, Rome has been sacked, plundered and burned; but, like the Phoenix, she has always risen from the ashes. No wonder that, at the time of the barbarian invasions, a Roman should have exclaimed: "Alas, great Rome! thou alone art the first and there is no second." In virtue and in vice, Rome was incomparable. St. Augustine, while fulminating against the evils of his times, had her subconsciously in mind when he wrote his "*Civitas Dei.*"

In ancient days, the doughty descendants of Romulus and Remus saved their *Capitol* from the Gauls and forced the Carthaginians to retire in discomfiture from the walls of Rome. With the decay of republican institutions and the Roman virtues, the city was unable to withstand the onslaughts of the barbarian hordes of Odoacer and Theodoric. A barbarian king sat on the throne of the Caesars, while the Capital of the Pagan Empire had become the Holy See of Christendom. Fifteen hundred years ago, Pope Leo I entreated Attila the Hun not to pursue his victorious career to the gates of Rome. Today, Pope Pius XII has, by his exhortations to the belligerents, saved his city from modern barbarism. In the Middle Ages, the prestige of the Papacy, enhanced by the hoary dignity of the Catholic Church, impelled Pope Boniface VIII—in a fit of megalomania—to declare from the balcony of the papal palace:

* Address broadcast on 20th of January, 1940, quoted in March, 1944, issue of "The Nineteenth Century and After."

"I am Caesar, I am Emperor." The Pope to-day makes no such exaggerated claims; he is truly a pious figure who feeds the starving populace of Rome.

The rabble of Rome have throughout history been remarkable for their fickleness. In the declining days of Empire, they loved those emperors who provided them with 'feasts and circuses' but dethroned those who did not pander to their caprices. Turbulent factions supported rival aspirants from the clans of the Colonna and Orsini to the pontifical throne. The political and religious reformer, Arnaldo di Brescia, was first welcomed by the people and then abandoned to a cruel and undeserved fate on the gallows. Cola di Rienzi was hailed as the regenerator of the republic and tribune of the people, but afterwards denounced and murdered by the mob. In the years of promise and progress they acclaimed Mussolini "Leader" but disowned their "*Duce*" in the days of doubt and danger. In the past, they frequently allowed *condottieri* to occupy the streets and squares of Rome; at the present time, they have permitted foreign conscripts and mercenaries to tramp in and out of her gates.

If cackling geese once saved Rome, braying politicians have now betrayed her. The unity of Italy, achieved with difficulty, by the courage and sacrifice of Mazzini and Garibaldi and the genius of Cavour, has been undermined by selfish intriguers and pitiless plotters for power. But Rome has fortunately been spared in answer to pontifical prayers and her precious monuments, the heritage of world-culture, saved for posterity. The *Risorgimento* has been interrupted but not suppressed, and Italy will again take her rightful place among the honoured nations of the world. The unification of Europe, unrealised within the Holy Roman Empire because of the unhappy rivalry of pope and emperor, cannot long be delayed.

It now rests with the Holy Father of the Eternal City to exorcize the demon of war from the earth for the salvation of suffering humanity. The voice of God calls on mankind to construct a new World Order on the corner-stones of Peace, Tolerance, Truth and Equity.

The Wings of Daedalus

Legend has it that the Greek, Daedalus, was the first man to attempt to fly with wings attached to his shoulders. Leaving fiction aside and turning to fact, we find Leonardo da Vinci, the greatest figure of the Renaissance in Europe, making a workable model of a flying-machine, which was regarded by the superstitious as savouring of witchcraft. After that, centuries elapsed before the flying-machine became a practical possibility. Notable landmarks in the development of the modern aeroplane were its construction and first flight by Orville and Wilbur Wright and the successful crossing of the English Channel by Blériot. Aerial development received an impetus in the last World War; in fact, this was one of the few good things which came out of it. Subsequently, Lindbergh captured the imagination of the world by risking his life in crossing the Atlantic Ocean, thus paving the way for future trans-continental, trans-oceanic and round-the-world flights, attempted and accomplished by famous aviators of various nations—too numerous to mention.

Instead of continuing the good work on these lines, governments perverted aircraft manufacture by converting it into a war-industry. A novel and silent type of aircraft, the glider, reached a high level of development in Germany. These again were diverted to wrong ends and used later in glider-borne military operations.

Some good may come out of this war also, as varied experience under strenuous conditions has resulted in the perfecting of machines. There may be trains of aeroplanes after this war, *i.e.*, an aeroplane with a number of gliders attached to it. It is certain that the world postal traffic, carried by rail and ship

now, will be entirely carried by air after this war. Officials on tour, diplomats and commercial magnates—to whom time is of importance—will all travel by air. Goods of a perishable nature, urgently needed foodstuffs for famine-areas and medical supplies in epidemics will all be sent by air.

In the exploring and charting of new air routes more rapid progress will be made. Already the Russians have blazed the trail by reconnoitring short and ice-free routes in Arctic regions.

The Americans have not been idle either. They are already making plans for future air-expansion on an extensive scale. They wish to girdle the globe. They are projecting new air-routes to Latin America, to the Far East and to Europe. A most difficult route planned is one over the icy wastes of Alaska and Siberia to Russia. They anticipate a heavy post-war passenger traffic and estimate that, soon after the war, about 600 people a day will be flying from the U.S.A. to Europe. "Pan-American Airways," the leading American company, is considering the formation of a gigantic American air cartel, in which other air-line companies will be merged. This is an ambitious scheme, which has to be examined, carefully and operated cautiously.

The smooth and successful working of international air-lines will depend on the co-operation of the countries concerned. The danger of unhealthy competition must be eliminated but the evils of monopoly and domination prevented as friction arising from the clash of national interests may lead again to war.

Open or Closed Skies

During the last five years of war, air transport has attained a complexity unknown during the previous twenty years of peace. Numerous and intricate problems of international air-transport await solution.

At various conventions held before 1930, most countries agreed on the principle that a nation had sovereign rights to all the air that lay above it and that planes of other countries had to seek its permission before flying through its air space. Private or non-commercial planes, however, had the right of 'free passage' except over military zones. Planes could also land for humanitarian 'reasons' for emergency repair, refuelling or refuge from weather. Commercial planes, on the other hand, were denied these privileges.

The recognition of aerial rights has been tardy and grudging. Germany and Russia made and broke off aerial relations twice before the war. Turkey was reluctant to let anybody fly over her territory, as the result of which, England had to land her planes in Greece—at Phaleron, near Athens. Iran had slyly suggested to foreign planes a dangerous desert-mountain route, causing them to make a long detour around the frontiers of Iran.

There are indications, however, that things will not be altogether smooth for post-war air development on account of some of the basic commercial rivalries between countries, although some of these countries are allies in the present war. Air bargaining may become acrimonious between the U.S.A. and Great Britain. America has been warned by U.S. senators returning from a tour of battle-fronts that Britain would have the advantage so far as air-bases were concerned since the British Empire has the most complete system of air-bases. As a result of this, Great Britain would not have to use foreign air-bases to the same extent as the U.S.A. On the other hand, the U.S.A., being poor in air-bases except in the Pacific, would have to get them by making deals with countries like Portugal and France, which have colonial empires. British M.P's have stated frequently that the dangers of monopoly in the air arising from U.S. transport planes will be a menace to Britain's mercantile marine, which is one of her life-lines. While

Britain has been busy manufacturing bombers, the U.S. is busy making transport planes.

For post-war international air arrangements the two aspects of air-policy—'open sky' and 'closed sky'—have been suggested by writers on the subject. Arrangements for commercial planes would perhaps include (1) the right to fly over a country without landing; (2) the right to fly to a country, land, but fly no farther across the country; (3) the right to fly into and over a country with the privilege of landing for fuel, repairs or safety—this is only the right of normal air-transit; (4) the right to fly into a country, land, drop off and pick up cargo and passengers coming from or going to foreign points; (5) the right to stop anywhere within the country to take on or drop off passengers at any point for any other point. All these rights are included in the description of the 'open sky.'

People talk glibly about "Freedom of the Air." Henry Wallace, Vice-President of the U.S.A., has envisaged an international air authority, which, like St. Peter, can open the gates of heaven to all deserving aspirants. We have also heard of "Freedom of the Seas," which was one of the famous fourteen points laid down by the late President Woodrow Wilson as the basis of a world peace. After our experience of the way politicians have kept their promises, we may be pardoned for being a little sceptical of the arrangements for assuring "Freedom of the Air" after the present World War. The air and the sea, which the old Roman jurists described as *res communes*, should be common to all.

India's Urgent Problems

The London "News Chronicle," discussing India's problems in a recent issue, says: "The facts are appalling. Where, with us, expectation of life at birth is some 62 years, in India it is 26 years. A third of the population is subject to chronic disease. A high proportion of it lives on the very verge of starvation." The article continues at some length in this vein, but even the belated admission on the part of an influential British newspaper is an understatement of the really tragic condition of the Indian masses. The British public, unfortunately, have very hazy notions about India—for them the hard facts of Indian life have an unheard-of newness and leave them unmoved.

The journal, with the characteristic Fleet Street evasiveness in tackling colonial problems, ascribes the wretchedness of the country to over-population. This is the usual line of least resistance taken not only by Tories and reactionaries, but also by the more progressive British political groups, who find in over-population an easy answer to all the colonial ills.

Poverty leads to malnutrition and disease but the paper has no solution to offer except to state unctuously that "the long drawn-out tragedy of poverty and malnutrition in India must not be allowed to continue." Mere wishful thinking has never yet removed ignorance, relieved poverty or prevented famine and disease.

It is a clear proof of the inequalities and injustices of the present world economic system that countries with vast unexploited resources like India and China should suffer from shortage of food, whilst other countries should have surplus stocks.

At long last, the Government of India seems to have grasped the realities of the situation. A new department, that of Post-War Planning and Development, has been created to deal with India's urgent problems. Sir Ardeshir Dalal, a former member of the Indian Civil Service and for many years Managing Director of Tata's industrial concerns, has taken charge of the new department. This augurs well for the future, as the practical and experienced industrialist may be expected to tackle these problems vigorously.

India: The Bane of Communalism

Post-War Planning will be futile, if there is no concord between the different communities. To take a recent instance, the plan of the Bombay industrialists has met with the opposition of Moslem extremists, who have raised the bogey of future Hindu economic and industrial domination to frighten their political adherents. If this is the spirit in which such pressing problems are going to be tackled after the war, then we may well despair of the future development of India.

The new Member for Post-War Planning and Development, Sir Ardeshir Dalal, also realises the grave dangers to the country arising from this communal outlook. In his Convocation address to the Osmania University at Hyderabad, he said:

"If in India to-day, our political and social problems have become more difficult of solution, if the ugly spirit of communalism is eating into the vital of our national life, I believe, it is partly because the Universities of India have in some measure failed to achieve their object of promoting culture, and dispelling not only ignorance but passion and prejudice. He said that it was from the young men who left the Universities that India might demand a sane and balanced judgment, a just sense of higher values, a broad mental outlook and a universal sympathy. A University would ultimately be judged by its success or failure in enlarging and liberating the mind of its students and developing in them an outlook that would transcend the narrow barriers of race, caste and creed.

After referring to the fate of the small states in Europe Sir Ardeshir said that a narrow nationalism looking to its own interest, regardless of the common welfare of the rest of the world, led to tariff barriers, unilateral trade agreements, managed currencies, frozen credits and numerous devices of international trade warfare, which ultimately resulted in open armed conflict. Such nationalism as well as the imperialisms which thrived upon the exploitation of weaker and less developed nations must give place to the larger concept of a world federation.

"When we turn to India to-day, what do we find?" asked Sir Ardeshir. "Have we learned the lessons which the tragedy of the World War is impressing upon us? Have we laid aside our petty jealousies and narrow sectarian interests for the common good? Far from doing so, India to-day presents a spectacle of discord, disunity and frustration such as it has not done within the memory of any living man. Democracy or autocracy, capitalism or socialism, disruption or federation, unity or discord, strife or peace, these are great and fatal issues, and these issues are before you, demanding solution with an insistence and urgency which was not before the young men of my generation. Upon the courage, wisdom, foresight and toleration, with which you tackle these problems, will depend the advancement and happiness of your country for countless generations to come."

Bengal: Women and Education

In social progress, educated women are in many ways in advance of educated men—especially in matters like child welfare, nutrition and public health. In the advanced countries of Europe and America women have been playing important parts in public life—in social and administrative services; professional, political and even diplomatic careers.

In our country, selfless women striving for the uplift of their people are not rare either. Pandita Ramabai and Sreemati Sarojini Naidu are notable instances. In these times of stress, the women of Bengal are nobly following their example—specially in the field of social and educational reform.

The Bengal Secondary Education Bill (1944) was recently discussed at a meeting of prominent women educationists. They recognised the need for a Secondary Education Board to unify and direct education on proper lines, but strongly condemned the introduction of separate electorates, which would only intensify communal and sectarian feeling, seriously interfering with the operation of the bill. They objected to the omission of representatives of managing committees of schools, the reduction of university and academic representation, the preponderance of officials, the method of appointment of the president and the increased representation of the legislature on the proposed board as tending to give an undue political bias to education. They also pointed out that the totally inadequate representation of women on the executive and sub-committees would result in an unbalanced scheme for the province as a whole.

The framers of the bill will be most ill-advised to rush it through in the face of such opposition, ignoring the views of the educated women of the province.

Bengal: Development of Cottage Industries

A recent press report states that to provide alternative avenues of subsidiary occupations for agriculturists, the Bengal Government have adopted the policy of generally developing small and cottage industries in the province.

Among the industries, for the revival of which the Government are making plans, mention may be made of the handloom industry. This industry was at one time the pride of Bengal and expressed itself in that perfect specimen of art—the Dacca muslin, which surpassed the finest European fabrics but was sacrificed to Lancashire. The craftsmen—weavers, who worked on the hand-looms of old before the days of mills and machinery—have disappeared, their spirit broken by discouragement and their bodies by ill-treatment. After so many decades, it is touching to find a renewed, but this time constructive, interest in the Bengali weaver, who is a real child of the soil.

Agriculturists and their dependants will be provided with necessary facilities, arrangements being made for supplying them with raw materials, advancing loans and marketing their products. A scheme for the purpose is now under consideration by Government. It envisages the establishment of a chain of depôts throughout the province to be managed by commercially experienced men, whose functions will include the preparation of a census of weavers, finding out the count, type and quality of yarn used by each weaver, the monthly consumption of yarn and monthly output of woven goods *per capita*.

The scheme, it is understood, will bring within its scope about 2,00,000 of the weaving population distributed over the province and will involve an expenditure of about Rs. 50,00,000.

S. K. C.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Parliamentary Government in India.—By Sir Bijoyprasad Singh Roy, K.C.I.E., M.A., B.L., President, Bengal Legislative Council. Foreword by the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, P.C., K.C.S.I., L.L.D. Pp. ix + 427. Published by Thacker Spink & Co. (1933), Ltd., Calcutta. Price Rs. 9.

The author who has on more than one occasion publicly acknowledged the late Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea as his political *guru* has succeeded in presenting in this book a well-balanced and closely-reasoned case for the adoption of parliamentary democracy by India though it may have to undergo certain modifications in its Indian setting. He has robust faith that this is the system best suited to our requirements, once the heat and the dust of the present struggle for political power have subsided. His views deserve our respectful consideration for he has not only studied Indian politics carefully as is clear from the contents of the volume as a whole, but has had practical experience extending over a fairly large number of years in actually participating in the day to day work of administration.

A liberal by conviction, the author has not failed to castigate communalism whether of the Hindu or the Muslim variety and what he considers the concentration of powers in a few hands, the principal defect of the party system as it has hitherto operated in India. The attention of the reader is specially drawn to his remarks on Coalition Cabinets towards which we seem to be gradually impelled by the necessity of reconciling clashing interests.

While we may not agree with every opinion the author has expressed, there can be little doubt that every Indian will join with him in the hope that "at the time of the actual framing of the new constitution the Indian leaders, both Hindus and Muslims, will display a sense of realism which will enable them to claim with united voice and to accept on behalf of the people of India freedom as is now enjoyed by the great dominions of the British Empire."

Freedom First.—By G. N. Acharya. Published by Padma Publications, Ltd., Sir Pherozeshah Mehta Road, Bombay. Pp. ii + 162.

The following quotation from the second paragraph of the preface indicates the reason for the existing misunderstanding between Britain and India:

"Britain says, 'We are in the midst of a dreadful war. Let us get through with the job and at the end of it, you will surely have your freedom.' On the other hand Indians, by and large, say, 'No, that won't do. We want our freedom first; not only because we have always wanted it, war or no war, but also because we see clearly that it is the most effective way in which we can contribute to an early and decisive victory of the Allies.'"

The author devotes the seventeen chapters of his book to a description of the reasons for the difference between the British and the Indian standpoint. Its great merit lies in the ability with which the author has appreciated and made allowances for two radically different points of view. The book is not only well written but is also characterised by a praiseworthy detachment in one who, too obviously a nationalist, was writing immediately after the disturbances of August, 1942.

Written in an attractive style, the volume under review presents the problem in its correct historical setting while the documentary evidence it embodies adds materially to its value. Both the Indian and the Briton should profit by a perusal of this volume, which gives the views of both parties with fairness and, in addition, makes clear the gap which has to be bridged before there can be anything like a complete and trustful understanding.

Here and There in India (First and Second Series—24 volumes).—Published by Macmillan & Co., London and Calcutta.

These are all printed on good thick paper in large type and are profusely illustrated. Meant primarily for young people and written in easy and colloquial English, they convey faithful descriptions and interesting accounts of most of the principal British Indian Provinces and some of the Indian States. The Series also includes books on some of our old and modern cities such as Puri, Benares, Lucknow, Agra, Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, etc. The publishers deserve the gratitude of teachers, parents and children for this new and welcome departure in the field of educational literature as well as for the very low expense at which these books have been made available to the public.

The Voice of the Autumn.—Published by Hamara Hindusthan Publication, Ltd., Bombay. Price As. 4.

This consists of extracts from various writings of Mahatma Gandhi addressed to students classified under such headings as "Defects of our Educational System," "Students and Politics," "Students and the Constructive Programme," "Students and Khadi," "Students and the Use of Vacations," etc. The general point of view from which the collection has been made is indicated in the Preface contributed by the Publishers and by an extract from the writings of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It should appeal to those who would like to see unity in India and the carrying out of responsible social, economic and political work by students.

Words of Wisdom.—Collected from the speeches of the late Maharaja of Mysore. **Selections from the Speeches of Sir Mirza Ismail,** formerly Dewan of Mysore. Compiled by D. R. Ramaya, B.A. Published by the Phœnix Press, Bangalore. Price Re. 1 each.

His late Highness who enjoyed a unique reputation as one of the most enlightened of Indian rulers spoke seldom but to the purpose when he did so. The twelve headings under which the "Words of Wisdom" have been grouped show not only the variety of his interests, his great care for the social, educational and economic uplift and the political training of his subjects but also his concern as regards their attitude towards religion. A deep sincerity characterises every pronouncement. As he reads the book, the reader is convinced that he is meeting a man among men who meant every word he uttered. The impress of the personality of the speaker is always present and it is always realised that it is beneficent. As the reviewer was going through the book, he was feeling what a loss Mysore must have suffered by the death of this modern Janaka.

A selection from the speeches of Sir Mirza Ismail, one of the foremost administrators of Indian India, must be welcome to all Indians irrespective of caste and creed. The compiler has showed commendable discrimination in picking and classifying his pronouncements on such interesting and important subjects as unemployment and its remedy, students and their ideals, rural welfare, local self-government and patriotism, including certain very weighty observations on the political situation in India, communalism and provincialism. The sentiments expressed are, as might be expected from a man of the type of Sir Mirza Ismail, characterised by breadth of views and far-sighted political vision. A study of these extracts, when the mind is open, must carry conviction to all readers that the one and the only way to have a united and strong India is to give up narrowness of all kinds and to come together in the spirit of give and take.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Ramkrishna and Spiritual Renaissance.—By Swami Nirvedananda, Ramkrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.

Ramkrishna is an epitome of India's spiritual culture. The book under review is for the most part concerned with the story of his life. The ideas that

were the motive forces behind the religious movements in nineteenth-century India got crystallized in Ramkrishna's *sadhana*. The confusions of the Indian mind engendered by the advent of science and Christianity were cleared up by the luminous teachings of this divine man. All this the learned author brings out by an acute analysis of the upheavals that marked the second half of last century. He paints his portrait on a broad historical background.

Swami Vivekananda apart from Ramkrishna is an abstraction. So the author does well to add to his story a somewhat detailed account of the life of Vivekananda and his doings. It was Vivekananda who broadcasted all over the world Ramkrishna's message of faith, love, and the spiritual destiny of mankind. The author shows clearly how our present-day cultural outlook has been influenced by the teachings of Ramkrishna and Vivekananda. The book is on the whole instructive. We are all grateful to the Swami for his valuable contribution to the increasing volume of literature on Ramkrishna and Vivekananda.

A. C. DAS.

Bharater Rashtria Itihaser Khasra (in Bengali).—By Prabhatchandra Gangopadhyay. Published by Debaprasad Mitra for the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj Publication Committee, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-4 only.

The monograph under review, as its title suggests, purports to be a sketch of the political history of India ; but even this modest claim is hardly justified by the matter in the volume. In the first place, it covers only a small period of that history—less than a century—beginning from the days of Rammohan Roy up to the end of the Bengal Partition agitation and the Swadeshi movement. In the second place, it could hardly be classified under the high-sounding name of 'history'. The period, with which the volume deals, forms, no doubt, a very pregnant chapter in the recent history of India, inasmuch as the introduction and spread of Western education and thought in this period led to the growth of the ideas of liberalism, democracy and nationalism, which have borne fruit not only in the re-orientation of the Indian outlook on social and political problems and in leading to active political movements and organisations, but also in shaping the course of India's political evolution on the Western pattern. Thus the author has ably marshalled all the factors bearing on the steady growth of political self-consciousness among the class that received the benefits of Western education, which ultimately crystallized into the movement for political freedom. He has rightly compared the middle of the nineteenth century in the social and political history of India with the period of 'Renaissance' in Europe (p. 39). The impact of Western thought and ideals deeply influenced not only the thoughts of young Bengal but left an abiding mark on the social, religious and political life and activities of the new generation. He has at great length described the rôles played by all persons—both distinguished and obscure—in this drama, but when going through the book one cannot help feeling that the author has laid special emphasis on the contribution of the Brahmo Samaj to this Indian Renaissance. Nobody would deny the immense contribution of the Brahmo Samaj, but a special emphasis on the part played by any particular sect or community is out of place in a work of historical character. The explanation of this feature is found in the Introduction to the book where it is stated that it originated in an address delivered by the author as the President of the Youth Conference on the occasion of the 'Maghotsab' celebrated by the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj in January, 1939. What is fitting enough in such an address is not so in a work pretending to be history. On the whole, however, the book will be a valuable addition to the literature dealing with a very important period of India's social and political history where we have to trace the roots of every aspect of our modern life and thought.

A. K. GHOSAL

Ourselves

[*I. Special Convocation.—II. Special Condolence Meeting of the Senate.—III. —Visit of Dr. Mortimer Wheeler to the University of Calcutta.—IV. Zainul Abedin Sircar Memorial Fund.—V. Tagore Law Professor.—VI. Training Classes for Teachers of Domestic Science.—VII. A New Doctor of Philosophy.—VIII. Bagiswari Professor of Fine Arts.—IX. Calcutta University and Educational Facilities for the U.S.A. Army.—X. Calcutta University Library.*]

I. Special Convocation

At a special convocation held in the Darbhanga Hall on the 14th of June, 1944, the Degree of Doctor of Science, *honoris causa*, was conferred on Dr. Bidhanchandra Roy, M.D. (Cal.), M R.C.P. (Lond.), F.R.C.S. (Eng.), F.S.M.F. (Bengal). The Chancellor, H.E. Mr. R. G. Casey, presided over the ceremony. We reproduce below in full the addresses delivered on the occasion by the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor.

* * *

I

The Chancellor's Address

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen,

The ceremony of this Special Convocation is now complete ; but before declaring it closed I gladly take the opportunity of this occasion to add—very shortly—to the Vice-Chancellor's eloquent address.

Dr. Roy is well known to us all. He is in no need of degrees—many years ago he obtained a place of high distinction both in his chosen profession and in other fields. As a practitioner of medicine, as a teacher and professor, as a member of many learned councils, as a Fellow and former Vice-Chancellor of this University, his attainments and qualities of mind are widely known and respected. Therefore, I would say that in conferring on Dr. Bidhanchandra Ray the Degree, *honoris causa*, of Doctor of Science, the University has done honour principally to itself.

However, I am persuaded that there is no man, however eminent, who would not accept with mixed feelings of pride and gratitude, public recognition—albeit superfluous—of his distinction from the hands of a great University, particularly when that University is his own. I do not doubt that Dr. Roy is exceptional in this respect. His pleasure adds to ours and ours to his.

It is appropriate to Dr. Roy's special gifts that the University should have chosen the Degree of Doctor of Science for conferment on him. While emphasizing his scientific attainments we should not, however, forget that the man whom we honour today is no narrow specialist looking only to his profession—however honourable that profession may be. Dr. Roy's wide sympathies, administrative versatility, social conscience and ideals of service have carried him—to the great advantage of the people of this land—far beyond such limits. Still, I would maintain that he is pre-eminently a good scientist ; that is to say a man whose sympathies and fineness of temper transcend the boundaries of purely professional or academic study, and relate themselves to the needs of ordinary people. It is such men whom we need to-day and we are proud of such a man's long, intimate, and faithful connection with the University.

Dr. Roy is the friend of us all—and I am confident that I am speaking in the voice of the University when I say that no special Convocation called for the purpose of conferring a Degree, *honoris causa*, has given greater satisfaction.

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II

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR'S ADDRESS

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It is indeed a happy privilege of this University to accord its recognition and appreciation to men of eminence and high attainments by conferring Honorary Degrees on them. We meet here this afternoon to confer the Degree of Doctor of Science, *honoris causa*, on one who needs no introduction from me and who has risen to the undoubted position of eminence he now occupies by his work and achievements.

Dr. Bidhanchandra Roy was still a young man when he took his M.D. Degree from this University in 1908 and he lost no time in dedicating himself with boundless enthusiasm to the study of the medical science. He proceeded to England in March, 1909, for higher studies and became L.R.C.P. (London) and M.R.C.S. (England) in 1909, M.R.C.P. (London) in 1911 and F.R.C.S. (England) in the same year. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Medicine in 1909.

The compass of a Convocation address will hardly be sufficient for the fullest details of Dr. Roy's activities. He founded the *Jadavpur Tuberculosis Hospital* in 1923 and was mainly instrumental in establishing the women's hospital now known as *Chittaranjan Seva Sadan.* He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene in 1935 and of the American Society of Chest Physicians in 1940. In 1941, he was nominated to be a Fellow of the State Medical Faculty of Bengal. The medical practitioners of this vast country on more than one critical occasion chose Dr. Roy as their leader to profit by his wise and sound guidance. Twice was he elected President of the Indian Medical Council—in 1939 and again in the current year. Twice was he President of the Indian Medical Association. In 1933, he was President of the All-India Licentiates' Association.

His active association with the affairs of this University dates from nearly three decades ago. In 1916, he was elected a Fellow of the University by the Registered Graduates and he has been an Elected Fellow since. As in all other activities, he always devoted himself, heart and soul, to his duties as a Senator. In 1924, he was appointed President of the Board of Accounts of the University, a position which he held for over 10 years and which he resigned in 1934, when he was elected to the Syndicate of which he has been a member ever since. He was Vice-Chancellor of this University for two years—from 13th March, 1942, to 12th March, 1944—when he earned the affectionate regard of all with whom he came in contact in that capacity. I need hardly recall that war was knocking at the very doors of India when Dr. Roy was called upon to shoulder the grave responsibilities attaching to the office of Vice-Chancellor, and what the country has had to pass through since is recent history. Yet, in spite of the numerous handicaps presented by the soul-killing uncertainties of the war, in spite of the immense and unprecedented confusion reigning everywhere, he succeeded in leaving a distinct impress on the activities of this great institution. His winning personality and the abiding confidence which his fellow-countrymen have in his integrity enabled him to secure financial help from outside for the research work of the University.

The present system of education can no longer stimulate the young mind by any adequate offer of opportunity for achievement. Yet for adolescents, hope is the very breath of life. If education is to have any value, the boy or girl has to be convinced that there is some point in being educated. The most vital point in education that is likely to stimulate the average mind most is preparation for life. Dr. Roy never failed to face this aspect of education and never emphasised the supposed independent role of education at the expense of these claims of practical life. It was during his regime that the Indian Air Force Training Corps Classes were started. It was under a man of his catholicity that a course of lectures and practical classes was inaugurated under the auspices of this University for the training of social workers who would like to choose the Jute Mill areas as the field of their humanitarian activities.

An indomitable spirit like his always refuses to be cabined within appointed bounds, and so it is that his activities have never been confined to the professional or the educational field. From his earliest youth, public activity has been the supreme passion of his whole existence. The politics of this country has never been deprived of his valuable services in the most critical times. The civic affairs of the Second City of the British Empire have so far engrossed not a little of his time and attention. His efforts for making a better and cleaner Calcutta are well known, and it was quite in the fitness of things that he was twice elected Mayor of this City. The industry of this Province has found in him no lukewarm supporter, though, naturally enough, his magnetic personality has taken up the cause of electrical energy. But his share in the work everywhere has always been directed to secure the triumph of the ideal of our national growth.

Dr. Roy is indeed a brilliant man, a real genius. In the midst of his multifarious activities he has never failed to pursue learning for its own sake. He has not avoided the dust of everyday life and yet this dust could never deaden those finer sentiments in him to which life should owe its savour. Though a busy medical practitioner, he has always preferred to remain in touch with young learners. By his pupils and by his colleagues, by his friends and by

his critics, he is always respected as much for the abundance of his humanity as for the richness of his intellect.

It is particularly fitting and proper that in recognition of his eminent position and high attainments the University of Calcutta should bestow on him one of the highest honours which lie in its power to confer.

* * *

II. Special Condolence Meeting of the Senate

A Special Meeting of the Calcutta University Senate was held on Saturday, the 24th of June, to mourn the death of Acharya Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray. H.E. Mr. R. G. Casey, in his capacity as Chancellor, presided over the meeting.

Remarkable tributes were paid to the memory of the great departed. The Chancellor said, " Sir Prafulla was a man, outstanding in heart, mind and spirit, whose passing all must mourn. He was a leader of his generation and the benefactor of the generation that followed." " Analysing the guiding motives of his life," His Excellency continued, " we find exemplified the finest aims of human endeavour—the pursuit of knowledge and the application of that knowledge towards the betterment of his fellowmen. Sir Prafulla directed to the attainment of these aims the whole force of a mind finely equipped in scholarship, powers of concentration, and practical sense, and—I think above all—a deep, generous and ready sympathy with the needs of mankind."

The Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Radhabinode Pal, referred to Sir Prafulla's " active association with the University extending over four decades." " Sir Prafulla," the Vice-Chancellor said, " had an insatiable zest for exercising his talents for the cause of his country, and always passionately sought to liberate the repressed forces of education and to release the productive forces of industry."

Dr. W. A. Jenkins, on behalf of the Education Service, of the Province, joined in paying tribute to the illustrious scientist, who along with the late Sir J. C. Bose, had proved that Indians were capable of reaching the highest positions in scientific pursuits.

Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee stated that Sir Prafulla was a complete man, the like of which they were not likely to see for generations to come. He had handed down to them a heritage which would be cherished as a national treasure.

A resolution was passed regarding the Senate's sorrow at Sir P. C. Ray's death and their appreciation of his services and sacrifices.

"To perpetuate the memory of Sir Prafulla and to commemorate his connection with the study of chemistry in the University," the Senate decided to raise a sum of Rs. 5,00,000 for the establishment of a chair in the University in some branch of applied chemistry to be named after him. In this connection a Research Fellowship will also be created.

* * *

III. Visit of Dr.-Mortimer Wheeler to the University of Calcutta

On the 14th of June, Dr. R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, M.C., D.Litt., F.S.A., the new Director-General of Archaeology, Government of India, visited the Asutosh Museum of Art, the only university museum in India. Among those present were the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Radhabinode Pal, Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Mr. Devaprasad Ghosh, the Curator of the Museum and other University authorities and officials.

Dr. Wheeler evinced a great interest in the different exhibits of the Museum, particularly in the specimens of Bengali Folk Art. He also spent some time in the Map Room, studying the excavation plans.

Dr. Wheeler's tour of the Museum brings to mind the visits paid to the Asutosh Museum in the past by other archaeologists and scholars of international reputation—such as Sir Leonard Woolley, the discoverer of "Ur of the Chaldees" in Mesopotamia and Dr. I.S. Brugmans of Batavia.

The Director-General also visited the University Library, the Fine Art Seminary, the Oriental Departments and Manuscript Collections. His visit was, above all, a symbol of the *entente cordiale* which exists between the University and the Archaeological Department.

* * *

IV. Zainul Abedin Sircar Memorial Fund

Messrs. Abdur Rouff Sircar and Abdul Walid Sircar of Central Court, 2, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta, have agreed to donate Rs. 5000 in 3½% G. P. Notes to the Calcutta University for creating an endowment for the annual award of a Gold Medal out of its interest. The endowment is intended to perpetuate the memory of their uncle, the late Maulvi Zainul Abedin Sircar. The Gold Medal will be awarded every year by the Syndicate, on the results of a competition held annually by the University in only one of the following subjects, in the order stated :—

(1) Theses written in English or Persian, embodying the result of research work of the candidates on a prescribed subject relating to Persian Language, Literature or Culture.

(2) Original Poem or Poems written in Persian by the candidates on a prescribed specimen line (Tarah).

(3) Public lecture in Persian on a prescribed topic.

The competition will be open ordinarily to graduates of the Calcutta or the Dacca University, who must be of Indian parentage by birth, except that in the year in which candidates will be required to submit poems, the competition shall be on an all-India basis, and all persons in India will be eligible to compete for the medal, irrespective of the fact whether they are graduates or they are of Indian parentage or not.

The University has accepted the offer with thanks.

* * *

V. Tagore Law Professor

The Syndicate has recommended to the Senate that as recommended by the Faculty of Law, Mr. Atulchandra Gupta, M.A., B.L., Advocate, Calcutta High Court, be appointed Tagore Law Professor for the year 1943, the subject of his lectures being "Juristic Concepts in Hindu Law."

* * *

VI. Training Classes for Teachers of Domestic Science

It is proposed to open training classes in the University for teachers of Domestic Science from July, 1944. The courses are open to women (1) who have passed the Intermediate Examination with Chemistry or (2) who have passed the examination without Chemistry but have served as *bonafide* teachers of Domestic Science in any recognised institution for a period of not less than two years.

* * *

VII. A New Doctor of Philosophy

Mr. Gobindachandra Debpurkayastha, M.A., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. His thesis was entitled "Reason, Intuition and Reality."

* * *

VIII. Bagiswari Professor of Fine Arts

Dr. Niharranjan Ray, Dr.Phil. (Leiden), Dip.Lib. (London) has been appointed Bagiswari Professor of Fine Arts. As University Librarian, Dr. Ray had been a pioneer, organising and administering the Library on the most modern and progressive lines.

* * *

IX. Calcutta University and Educational Facilities for the U.S.A. Army

At the request of the Educational Department of the Government of India, and of the American Army authorities, arrangements have been made by the University to provide educational facilities for the U.S.A. Army. Mr. S. K. Chowdhry, M.A. (Cantab.), has been appointed Officer for this purpose.

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X. Calcutta University Library

The following are some of the recent important additions to the University Library:—

"The Transition from War to Peace Economy" (Report of the Delegation on Economic Depressions. League of Nations, Geneva).

"Indian Economy during the War" by L. C. Jain, (Banaili Readership Lectures, Lahore, 1944).

"A study of the Indian Money Market with particular reference to the Calcutta Money Market" by Bimal Chandra Ghosh (O.U.P., India, 1943).

"The National Socialist *Fuehrerprinzip* and its background in German Thought" by Nova Fritz (University of Philadelphia Publication).

"The Silver Lion" a biography of Reza Shah Pehlevi, with appendices on modern Persian Literature and Persian Constitution (Foreword by Prof. Mohammed Habib) by M. A. Farooqi.

"Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State (Vol. II) by G. Yazdani and R. E. Gyani (Editors) (Baroda State Press, 1944).

"Unabimsa Satabdir Bangla" (Bengal in the 19th Century) by Jogeschandra Bagal.

Obituary

Acharya Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray

The lights, which have for long illumined the activities and brightened the lives of the people of Bengal, have been extinguished in rapid succession during the past few years. Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray passed away on Friday, the 16th of June, which was also the nineteenth anniversary of the death of Deshbandhu Chitta Ranjan Das. Acharya Prafulla Chandra represented an era in the history of Bengal, which was heroic in its achievements and in marked contrast to the faltering advances and fruitless efforts of the present time. He was the last of a generation, which has made Bengal great and India famous. His death is an irreparable loss to the country—to Education, Science, Industry and Politics.

He was born on the 2nd of August, 1861, at Raruli in the Khulna district, and received his early education in his village school and subsequently in the Hare School, Calcutta. He suffered from ill-health which made him leave school for a few years. He spent much time in learning languages and in wide reading, which in later life increased his interest in many subjects outside his special scientific studies. In 1876, he rejoined school—this time, the Albert School founded by Keshub Chunder Sen, where he came in contact with the great leaders of the Brahmo Samaj. As a college student at the Metropolitan Institution founded by Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, he developed a passion for Science, especially for Chemistry. He won in open competition the Gilchrist Scholarship, which enabled him to proceed to Britain for higher education. He joined Edinburgh University in 1882, where he graduated in Science and later obtained the D.Sc. degree in Chemistry. At Edinburgh, he was elected President of the University Chemical Society and also won the Hope Scholarship.

In 1888, he returned to India and joined the Presidency College as an assistant professor of Chemistry. Subsequently, he became Professor of Chemistry and served in this capacity for twenty-five years, guiding and inspiring students. After his retirement from the Presidency College, from 1916 till 1937, he was Palit Professor of Chemistry at the University College of Science—the first occupant of that chair. After his retirement, he was appointed Emeritus Professor of Chemistry. During the last ten years of his service, he served the University without salary, which was truly characteristic of his selfless nature. He gathered round himself a devoted band of research workers and thus founded a School of Indian Chemistry.

Sir Prafulla represented the Calcutta University as a delegate to the first session of the Congress of the Universities of the Empire in 1912. In

1926, he went again as a delegate to the third session, held at Cambridge under the presidentship of the late Lord Balfour. He was a Fellow of the Chemical Society, London, and of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. He was the oldest ordinary Fellow of the latter society. In the University of Calcutta, he had been a Fellow and member of the Senate for many years and also Dean of the Faculty of Science. He presided over the Chemistry Section of the Indian Science Congress in 1915 and again in 1921. The honour of C.I.E. was conferred on him in 1912 and he was knighted in 1915. His researches and the "History of Hindu Chemistry" brought him international recognition.

He did not believe simply in theoretical knowledge. He wanted the young men of Bengal to apply Science for the benefit of Industry and to engage actively in Commerce. In 1893, he was responsible for establishing, at 91, Upper Circular Road, a small private concern, which was later developed into the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, thus opening out new avenues of useful employment to the youth of the country. He was also connected with many other industrial enterprises.

The *Acharya* preached self-help and self-reliance. Money was of little value to him. He lived the life of an ascetic and spent all he earned on his students. An intense nationalist and ardent patriot, he helped his fellow-countrymen in their distress—in famine, flood and earthquake. He worked hard for the relief of stricken areas. He had an ardent love for humanity, especially for suffering humanity.

We shall not see his like again, perhaps for generations; but we can best strive to keep his spirit alive amongst us by emulating his example of selflessness and self-sacrifice. In the gathering gloom of the present day, the youth of India can find comfort and inspiration in the words of the poet:

> "Lives of great men all remind us,
> We can make our lives sublime;
> And, departing, leave behind us
> Footprints on the sands of time."

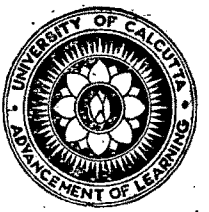
Mahamahopadhyay Pandit Pramathanath Tarkabhushan

Mahamahopadhyay Pandit Pramathanath Tarkabhushan passed away at Benares on the 22nd of May, 1944, at the ripe old age of 79 years. A man of vast erudition, he was held in the highest esteem and veneration by Sanskrit scholars and Orientalists all over India, many of whom both, at Calcutta and Benares, had sat at his feet as disciples and had imbibed from him those deep thoughts and ideas, which are the proud heritage of Sanskrit Philosophy and Literature.

He had received his education in the best traditions of Oriental learning at Benares where his father was Court Pandit of the Maharaja. After completing his studies there, he joined the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, as Professor of Smriti,

and was prominently connected with the Calcutta University. After his retirement from the Sanskrit College, he was appointed Professor in the Benares Hindu University. Here he was the right-hand man of Pandit Malaviya. In 1942, in recognition of his signal services to Sanskritic Learning, the Benares University conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Literature.

India has lost by his death not only a profound scholar, but also a man of the highest simplicity and spiritual wisdom, who embodied in himself all the best traditions of our past, not the least of which is plain living and high thinking.



THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW

AUGUST, 1944

COPERNICUS—THE PHYSICIAN

DR. BIDHANCHANDRA ROY, M.D., D.Sc., F.R.C.S. (ENG.), M.R.C.P. (LOND.), F.S.M.F. (BENGAL)

NIKOLAJ Kopernick, Nicolaus Copernicus, was born in Torun—Thorn—on the Vistula on February 19, 1473. He was educated in the University of Cracow from 1490 to 1495, where he studied Astronomy as a special subject. The atmosphere of Poland in those days was favourable for study in general. The close of the 15th century witnessed in Poland great political, economic and cultural development of the country. Copernicus lived and worked in this atmosphere, which favoured independence of thought and enthusiasm for research and provided opportunities for all to develop their personalities to the fullest extent. No wonder then that at the age of 17 or 18, he was able to give a new orientation to astronomical findings and change the then prevailing Geocentric System of Ptolemy, which had held sway for nearly 14 centuries, into a new Heliocentric Astronomical Concept which made the Earth spin round the sun and bade the sun to stop. His treatise, *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium* (Revolution of HeavenlySpheres), was a signal for revolution in other realms of thought besides Astronomy.

But his uncle, the Polish Senator, Bishop Lucas Watzelrod, who was also his guardian, had planned a different future for him. He induced Copernicus to go to Bologna University, to study Canon Law; after his graduation his uncle got him elected Canon of Varmia. He also obtained a Doctor's degree in Canon Law from the University of Ferrara

in 1503. Besides his wonderful discoveries in Astronomy which marked a new era in the history of science and culture in Europe, Copernicus gave a good deal of his time to medical studies. About his work in Astronomy, Richard Bostocke in his treatise on Chemistry and Medicine, written in 1585 and called *The Difference between the Ancient Phisicke and the New Phisicke*, makes the following statement, "Paracelsus was supreme in Chemistry, but he was not the author and inventor of Chemistry, no more than Wycliffe, Luther and Sivinglius (Zwingli) were the authors and inventors of the "Gospell" and religion in Christ's Church which they restored to its "puritie" according to God's word, no more than Nikolaj Kopernick (who restored to us, it is true, the place of the "Starres" according to the "trusth" as experience and true observation doth teach), could be called the author and inventor of the motions of of the Starres." Richard Bostocke was only enunciating the well-accepted proposition that "Truth unfolds itself through generations of God's Gifted Men." S. Starowolski in his book *Vita Copernici* says that in medicine Copernicus's fame was that of a second Aesculapius. Cassendi, the great biographer of Copernicus, adds, "Copernicus was regarded as a second Aesculapius because of the fact that he could rightly conceive of new remedies for illnesses, which he dispensed himself and distributed to the poor who justly regarded him as a divine personage." Thus, throughout the diocese of Varmia there arose a tradition that Copernicus was a friend of the poor. Recent researches have shown when and where Copernicus studied medicine. On July 25, 1501, by a decision of the Frauenberg Chapter, he was granted three years' leave from his Canonship of Varmia for medical studies in the University of Padua, where, at this period, the study of medicine had reached a very high standard. Although the medieval church rules forbade the study of medicine to clerics and canons, yet, in view of widespread diseases and epidemics during the 12th and 13th centuries, exceptions were made in some cases, with regard to members of the above Chapter. The demand for adepts in medical practice was so great that by the middle of the 15th century, the above "defence" was abolished and the ban was withdrawn by modifications introduced into the statutes of the Chapter of Varmia. Leave was granted to Copernicus for medical studies, so that he might render accomplished medical services to the Bishop of his diocese and to all members of the Chapter. Copernicus studied medicine at Padua from 1501 to 1503. This is proved by the fact that in the diploma on Canon Law issued to him by the University of Ferrara in May, 1503, it is distinctly stated that he had studied at Bologna and Padua; and in his letters written at that time he says that Padua stimulated his mind with divine inspirations.

The programme of medical studies in those days consisted of four divisions:

(*a*) Theory of medicine, based mainly on the Aphorisms of Hippocrates.

(*b*) Avicenna, Part III.

(*c*) Practical medicine dealing with fevers and diseases of particular organs—head, heart, abdomen.

(*d*) Surgery.

The Professors and Readers of medicine and surgery expounded the Canons of Avicenna, the Aphorisms of Hippocrates, the Microtegmus of Galenus, the Texts of Trusian and of Jacobi. Anatomy was then in its infancy. Galen's descriptions of the structure of human organs were derived from analogy of corresponding organs in the animals, because in those days sectioning of corpses was prohibited by the Church and the State. Leonardo da Vinci and A. Vesalius laid the foundations of Modern Anatomy by publishing a book *De Humanis Corporis Fabrica* in which we find drawings, sometimes in colours, from human cadavers, which show the beauty and harmony of the human body. Leonardo da Vinci also gives in his book the functions and purposes of the organism. Leonardo da Vinci was a lecturer in the Padua University. When Copernicus was studying medicine there, he came in close touch with this Founder of Topographical Anatomy and Anthropology. It is usually held that Copernicus graduated in Medicine in the year 1503. It is also on record that before going to the medical institute, he was lecturing in Rome in Mathematics and Astronomy when he was barely 25.

The Library which Copernicus used shows clearly how conscientious he was in his profession of Medicine. His favourite book was *Chirurgia Magistre Petre de Largelata* published in Venice in 1499. He was also very fond of a Lexicon of Medical Sciences published in 1498. On the cover of these books, on the marginal spaces in the pages of the books, even on the cover of his *Euclides Elem. Geometrica*, can be found numerous prescriptions jotted down for treatment of difficult cases. We find notes giving the simplest medicaments for dysentery and diarrhœa, for pneumonia and pleurisy, for controlling fever and septic diseases, for increasing urination, for abdominal colic and constipation, for swelling of the feet due to weak heart, for burns and wounds, for bee and snake bites. In these notes, we find interesting directions given regarding individual hygiene with special reference to seasons. He wrote a book *Regimen Sanitatis Canonis Kopernici* in which minute directions are given for the various seasons of the year, directions regarding food, drink, rest and exercise, directions intended to prevent diseases and preserve health.

In autumn, 1505, he went back home and assumed his active duties as canon of the Duchy Bishopric of Varmia. He also acted as the Physician and Personal Secretary to his uncle, Senator Bishop Lucas Watzelrod. For five long years he treated him and stayed with him. During these years he was also regarded as the foremost physician in the whole of the Vistula Province. This genius, whom the world regards as the maker of modern Astronomy and who has reformed our outlook on the Universe, never relaxed his efforts to heal the wounded and relieve the afflicted. He was fond of using medicaments which were easily accessible and traditional. He was so conscientious in the discharge of his duties as a physician, that, inspite of his great knowledge in medicine, he would often invite other doctors in consultation, if the patient's condition needed it. As will be mentioned later, inspite of his religious differences with the Prussian Prince Albert, he never hesitated to respond to his call to help a friend who was desperately ill. Besides attending on his famous uncle, he attended on his brother Andrew, who had leprosy. When he failed to relieve him, he went to Italy to consult specialists there. According to notes preserved in the Varmian Chapter, Copernicus's practice—even among women—extended far and wide; he even gave his advice by correspondence; the relevant letters are still preserved in the archives of the Varmian Chapter. Several bishops who succeeded his uncle were under his treatment. In the spring of 1541, Prince Albert of Prussia invited Copernicus to visit Koenisburg to attend on his friend, a Captain Kuhnheim. Although Prince Albert had abandoned the Catholic faith and was therefore antagonising the devout Catholic Copernicus, the latter never hesitated to respond to the call; inspite of his age and ill-health, he went to Koenisburg and cured Captain Kuhnheim.

Medical practice and help to the suffering poor were not the only interest Copernicus had in his life. I have already mentioned his interests in Astronomy and Canon Law. But he performed his duties of the Healing Art with a zeal and devotion seldom equalled in any country or clinic; a legion of grateful patients venerated him as a true and unrivalled representative of the medical science of his age. He used to treat a large number of poor patients free of charge and they accorded to him divine honours. As in the case of George Valla of Piacenza, Professor of Philosophy and Mathematics at the Universities of Pavia and Milan in 1481, so also with his pupil Copernicus, interests in Astronomy, Mathematics and Medicine were linked closely together. Such a wide, deep and living interest in a variety of subjects could only be possible in a man who was really great and we agree with Kepler's description that Copernicus was a man of genius and what is more, he had a free soul.

But neither Astronomy, Mathematics, Canon Law nor Medicine could chain him down. His free soul got interested in everything which concerned the land he lived in and the people. The nephew and spiritual successor of one of the most outstanding politicians of the day, he inherited Bishop Watzelrod's enthusiasm for politics and aversion towards the oppression of the Teutonic Order. The Bishop was the only man of his day who sensed the great danger threatening Poland's future peace and integrity if the Teutonic Knights were allowed to exercise power at the expense of his country.

The Teutonic Knights abandoned the Catholic faith and thus antagonised the Bishop and his nephew. Following in his uncle's footsteps, Copernicus fought the Teutonic Order in the political arena and on the battle-field. In 1520, when war with the Teutonic Order broke out, Copernicus, the Churchman, the Astronomer and the Physician, became the Commander-in-Chief of the beleaguered city Oloztyn and successfully defended it. As administrator of the lands of the Varmian Chapter he had to bear the main burden of providing defence against German hordes. When they failed to conquer Oloztyn, they tried to exploit the lands economically and flooded the market with base coins in exchange for good. Again Copernicus appeared on the forum. In his two epoch-making treatises on the "Basis of Issuing Money," he anticipated the modern law of Economics known as Gresham's Law. In his speeches in the Polish Parliament, he fought valiantly against the Teutonic attempt at economic exploitation of his lands. No wonder that the Chronicle of the Teutonic Order called Copernicus the Arch-enemy of the Order. Thus Copernicus did not hesitate to respond to the call of his country and for a while he exchanged the surgeon's knife for the soldier's sword. Copernicus lived and died a great man. He lived in a revolutionary age, an age which saw the birth and growth of new ideas in Art, Literature, Science and Philosophy. His contemporaries and co-revolutionaries were—

Leonardo da Vinci, 1452-1519
Francis Bacon, 1561-1626
William Harvey (Physiologist), 1578-1657
Galileo, 1564-1642.

Copernicus contributed not a little to create this 'New World' during the European Renaissance. He died of exhaustion, paralysed, and demented, in 1543. He was a churchman by vocation and by the works of his uncle, an artist for relaxation, a physician by training and predilection, an economist by accident, a statesman and soldier by necessity and a scientist by the Grace of God and by an intense love of Truth for Truth's sake.

THE INDIAN VIEW OF THE JUTE INDUSTRY

DR. H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D., M.L.A.

XII

THE first Jute spinning mill was put up near Serampore, Bengal, in 1855 and was followed in 1859 by the first power-loom factory at Barnagore close to Calcutta, since which time the jute industry has developed prodigiously under European leadership and control. From the time of its establishment down to 1873, it experienced prosperity with a temporary set back in the period 1873-77, after which it again began earning such handsome profits that every decade saw an increase in the number of jute mills.

The last war with its large demand for jute products gave such a stimulus to the industry that the pre-war average in the value of jute manufactures exported rose from about 20 to about 45 crores till the close of hostilities. The high profits earned during the war period led to the establishment of a large number of jute mills after its close.

The depression which started from about September, 1929, led to a decline in the world demand for jute manufactures so that the value of jute manufactures exported came down in 1933-34 to 20 crores and 11 lakhs. Naturally enough, profits declined. This tendency was strengthened by the existence of accumulated stocks and labour troubles. The members of the organisation controlling this industry, the Indian Jute Mills Association which has nothing Indian in it except the name, entered into an agreement which came into force from the 1st August, 1932. Under it, the mills worked 40 hours per week and sealed down 15 per cent. of their looms. Some small Indian mills which were not members of the Indian Jute Mills Association agreed to reduce their working hours to 54 per week but continued to operate all their plant.

Curtailment of production with a view to stabilising profits led to two results. Several new jute mills were established in India and these persisted in working full time, utilising all the machinery they had, to the fullest possible extent. Mills outside India captured an appreciable amount of the Indian jute trade. It has also been said that there was trouble within the members of the Association. Faced by these difficulties the Indian Jute Mills Association gradually withdrew the restrictions on productions between 1934 and 1937. In October, 1938, came an Ordinance of the Bengal Government restricting the working hours of all jute mills

to 45 per week. This was followed by a fresh agreement as regards the limitation of output by reduction in working time.

The war, which came before the results of this agreement manifested themselves, brought about a change in production and profits. The falling off of the army demand for jute manufactures and the loss of the Continental markets had a sobering effect on the industry and has led the Indian Jute Mills Association to curtail production. This appears wise, seeing that according to the Association itself, " even on the basis of 54 working hours per week, 25 per cent. of the machinery is redundant."

From what has appeared above, it is clear that the jute industry in Bengal has, like all other industries, known its periods of prosperity as well as those of adversity. From this it is natural to conclude that profits earned in certain years have alternated with either none or nominal ones in other years. While it is true that this may have happened in certain years and that rarely, it is correct to hold that, on the whole, it has met bad times when they have come very much better than almost all other industries. It has to be admitted that this is due to the maintaining of adequate reserves and the curtailment of production when necessary as also that all the credit for this must go to British leadership.

Dr. D. H. Buchanan, (*The Development of Capitalistic Enterprise in India* p. 231) has paid the following tribute to the business abilities of the Britons engaged in this industry :—

" Besides making handsome earnings, the jute mills are worth far more than the books show, having been enlarged and improved, provided with great stocks of materials, and in some cases with such reserves as would allow the payment of good dividends even though the mills should burn to the ground."

XIII

Practically located in Bengal which to all intents and purposes enjoys a monopoly in the production of raw jute, its jute mill industry consumes nearly two-thirds of the jute grown in the province and, in the language of the article on India in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* fourteenth edition, " produces about twice as great a bulk of jute manufactured goods...as all the rest of the world. "

According to page 139 of the *Review of the Trade of India* (1939-40), jute manufactures constituted 23.93 per cent. and cotton manufactures 4.22 per cent. of our exports in 1939-40 which is remarkable in view of the fact that the cotton industry is the first and most important of our industries. Then again, where the total value of cotton manu-

factures exported during this period was 8.58 crores, that of jute manufactures was 48.69 crores.

These figures, impressive as they are, do not give a complete picture of the important position occupied by the jute industry, not only in the economic life of Bengal, but also of India. And this is because they do not include the value of the jute goods taken by India itself which, according to the *Indian Year Book* for 1942-43, ranges between 20 to 25 per cent. of the total output of the industry.

The jute products referred to above were manufactured in 1938-39 by 107 jute mills with about 68,500 looms and more than 1,350,000 spindles. We can easily realise India's dominant position when we remember that, according to the latest statistics available, all the jute mills located outside India had only about 49,000 looms. The authorised capital of the Indian Mills amounted in all to Rs. 26,81,61,000, £3,175,000 and $3,750,000.

Normally, the jute industry finds employment for almost three lakh persons while, when it works under pressure, it enables nearly four lakhs to earn their living through it.

What is noteworthy about this industry is that though, within recent times, there has been a transfer of shares from British to Indian hands, the control and the management continue to remain with non-Indians, a fact referred to by Dr. Vera Anstey who, on page 281 of her *Economic Development of India* has admitted that "the industry is still entirely dominated by European management."

If this is so, and about this there is no doubt, it follows that just as all the credit for the development of this large and important industry must go to Britons, similarly all the responsibility for such defects as may be found in it must rest with them.

XIV

There can be little doubt that the dividend-paying capacity of the jute industry is due to certain valuable advantages it enjoys and to the fact that its organisers adopted steps calculated to counter the worst effects of depression when it came.

As regards the first of these, we find that cheap containers are required for moving agricultural products from the producing to the consuming areas in both internal and international commerce. Jute manufactures on account of their cheapness are in a unique position for though the search for substitutes has been both long and diligent, nothing as yet secured can compete with it. Nor have attempts to grow it in other parts of the world met as yet with any marked success. On the other hand, new uses have been found for jute and jute products. In addition, precautions to

prevent any possible loss of markets have been taken by the establishment of the Indian Central Jute Committee which has busied itself with research work in jute and jute products to find out new ways of utilising jute and marketing jute products.

Where jute mills outside Bengal and specially those outside India have to import raw jute, being thereby put to considerable expenditure, the Bengal jute mills undoubtedly enjoy a substantial advantage over their rivals by their location in practically the raw material area buying it as they do in Calcutta, the market for raw jute transactions. This one factor only has enabled them to hold a monopoly in certain lines.

Another advantage is an ample supply of cheap labour. That the combination of these two factors has, by reducing competition, added to the strength of this industry was recognised by Dr. D. H. Buchanan when on page 253 of his *Development of Capitalistic Enterprise in India* he said that

"Indian (meaning Bengal, as is clear from the context) mills have in cheap labour and proximity to the source of raw material such advantages that they can quote prices well below what most of their competitors are able to meet; and a goodly share of their profits are due to their success in frightening away would-be competitors."

This otherwise careful American economist has, however, failed to make any mention of the low prices ordinarily paid for raw jute which certainly plays an equally important part in strengthening the position of the industry. It is well-known that the growers on account of the middlemen who have interposed themselves between them and the Indian mills and the exporters of raw jute, do not always get even the market price. This is proved by what Sir P. C. Ray, who at one time had made an intensive study of this problem, said in a speech reported in the *Statesman* on the 8th January, 1927. His opinion was that "occasionally middlemen deprived the cultivators of as much as 25 per cent of their dues." It has also been shown that, now and again, jute has to be sold by the growers at a below-cost price due to lack of holding power and the application of pressure from creditors. It is hardly necessary to add that the major part of the advantages flowing from the cheap price of raw jute go to swell the profits of the industry.

Nearly one hundred out of the one hundred and ten Indian jute mills are located in a small area on the banks of the Hooghly for about thirty-five miles above and twenty-five miles below Calcutta. This concentration of the industry in a small area and the fact that the control is mainly in the hands of Europeans have facilitated common action towards labour and the fixation of price to be paid for the raw material used in the

industry. It has also rendered easy concerted action in the matter of limitation of output through restricted operation for the purpose of avoiding over-production leading to financial loss.

That the Indian Jute Mills Association founded about half a century ago has always been alive to the interests of the industry, has taken advantage of every circumstance in its favour and met, as far as possible, all the difficulties which have confronted it from time to time is undeniable. This was referred to by Dr. P. Pillai on page 175 of his *Economic Conditions in India* where he said that "In point of efficient organisation, the jute industry is perhaps second to none in India."

We shall now proceed to ascertain to what extent this industry has benefited from the advantages it enjoys and its efficient organisation, as gauged by the profits it has been earning with the assistance of the Indian labourer and the Indian grower.

XV

Difficulties in importing machinery and stores prevented the starting of new companies during the last war when the jute industry experienced a boom so that the mills then in existence had no fresh competition to face. The operation of certain sections of the Factory Act was suspended in order that they might meet the requirements of the British administration. In addition, during the later stages of the war, the export of raw jute except under a license was not permitted thus making available an abundant supply of the material at cheap prices. The wage level also did not rise. The natural result was the reaping of very handsome profits.

According to the calculation of the Director of Statistics which appears in the *Review of the Trade in India, 1917-18*, the ratio of net profits to paid-up capital of jute mills as a whole was 58 per cent in 1915, 75 per cent in 1916, 49 per cent in 1917 and 73 per cent in the first half of 1918 which last, the Director held was "easily a record figure."

Then came the depression which not only reduced the demand for jute manufactures, but also increased the cost of production by the mounting up of wages. The situation was worsened by the floating of new and extensions of existing companies. The difficulties which ensued were met by short time working, which lasted up to 1929.

In this connection, we should remember that the more successful companies paid dividends of 20 per cent and upwards until the depression was well advanced. The prosperity of the jute industry even during the depression is also proved by the investigations of two labour leaders

from Dundee Messrs. Thomas Johnston, M.P., and John F. Sime, Secretary, Dundee and District Union of Jute and Flax Workers, who after studying conditions of the jute industry in and about Calcutta came to the conclusion in 1925 that the total gain taking the Reserve Funds and profits together in the decade 1915-24, amounted to £300 million, that is 90 per cent per annum of the capital.

If it is argued that these labour leaders were prejudiced observers, we may refer to what is said by Messrs. Wadia and Merchant on page 284 of their recently published book "Our Economic problem" where it is stated that " The reports of 41 British controlled jute mills with a total capital of £6 million showed profits of nearly £23 million in the four years 1918-21, in addition to £19 million carried to Reserve Funds."

Referring to still later times, on page 358 of the same book, these authors mention the case of one British controlled jute mill which " paid 250 per cent in 1918, 100 per cent in 1927, 60 per cent in 1928 and 50 per cent in 1929."

Reference may also be made to what Dr. Vera Anstey, an economist who by no stretch of the imagination can be regarded as unfriendly to British vested interests, has to say on the same matter. In the second footnote on page 282 of her "Economic Development of India", she, after an analysis of the dividends paid by certain jute mills as reported on May 12, 1927, in the "Capital", an organ of European commerce and industry published in Calcutta, concluded in 1929 that "Out of the fifty-one jute mills quoted, no less than thirty-two have paid over 100 per cent in one or more years since 1918, no less than twenty-nine have never paid less than 20 per cent during the same period (and of these no less than ten never paid less than 40 per cent) and only three have never paid a dividend. Ten others, that in certain years have paid no dividend, have in some years paid good dividends or have shown a tendency towards paying better dividends recently."

Another economist, Dr. P. S. Lokanathan, on pages 291 and 292 of his brilliant study of the managing agency system entitled "Industrial Organisation in India," has supplied two statements giving the percentages of profits of thirty-one jute mills under British management for the years 1920 to 1930 to which the reader is referred. From these it appears that occasionally the dividends were as high as 300 per cent and ordinarily ranged between 25 and 60 per cent.

The dividends paid to shareholders do not, however, give a correct picture of the earnings of jute mills almost every one of which is managed by European managing agency firms. These charge head office expenses ranging from Rs. 200 to Rs. 1200 per mill and a commission generally on

gross sales as is evident from "Indian Tariff Board: Cotton Industry," 1927, Vol. 3, p. 323. This not only permits the managing agents to remunerate themselves even when the concerns in question are not earning profits, but also to make large profits when they are flourishing.

There are also some jute mills which pay their managing agents a commission on profits in addition to a minimum commission and what many would be disposed to regard as a generous allowance for office expenses. This is clear from "Indian Tariff Board: Paper and Pulp Industries," Evidence, 1925, Vol. I, p. 580.

Dr. P. S. Lokanathan has quoted extracts from the articles of association of some jute mill companies to prove that in certain concerns, the managing agents are guaranteed a minimum commission varying, according to the size of the companies, from Rs. 24,000 to Rs. 50,000 per annum. This allows them to remunerate themselves for their services even when no profits are earned by the jute mills under their management.

It should, however, be stated here that the amendments made in 1936 in the Indian Companies' Act have introduced certain changes under one of which managing agents appointed after it has come into force are allowed to receive as their remuneration only a percentage of the net profits with a provision for minimum remuneration in case of inadequacy or absence of profits together with an office allowance.

XVI

As regards the wages paid to jute mill workers, these depend on the nature of the work done by them, weavers drawing higher wages than winders, winders higher than spinners and spinners higher than batchers. Further, rates are appreciably lower in multiple shift working four days per week and higher in single shift working 5½ days per week. These facts are proved from the information given by the Indian Jute Mills Association to the Royal Commission on Indian Labour as well as by what appears "in Evidence," Vol. V, Part I, pp. 299-301 of "Labour Commission".

Mr. B. Shiva Rao writing late in 1938 on page 125 of his "Industrial Worker in India" has summed up the situation in the following terms:

"The weavers, who are the best paid men in the jute, as in the cotton industry, make about Rs. 6 to Rs. 8 a week, though in other departments wages are much lower, and a great number do not earn even Rs. 3 a week.

Continuing he says that "The enormous variations in rates render any general statement impossible."

Mr. Shiva Rao said this because, though uniformity in the wages paid to jute labour is feasible on account of the small area within which the Bengal jute mills are confined, uniformity both in the conditions of production and in the lines of goods produced, no attempt to introduce it has been made. The comment of the Government of Bengal on this matter is interesting. It said:

"Perhaps in no industry in the world, situated in such a circumscribed area, is the wage position more inchoate ..... Even in mills under the same managing agents there are differences which, to persons not acquainted with the position, seem incredible. For example, in two mills situated in the same area and separated from each other by a little more than a boundary wall, under the same managing agents, there is practically not a single entry of wages which is the same. In three mills under the same managing agents, situated within a stone's throw of each other, the rates in one mill have for many years been higher than those in the other two mills."

These are the reasons which have induced the present writer to accept the figures of Mr. Shiva Rao arrived at after personal enquiries rather than those supplied by the Indian Jute Mills Association which can, under the circumstances stated above, be only approximate and general.

That the wages paid to labour are low and bear no proportion to the profits earned at least partly through their exertions, is proved by what was said by Messrs. T. Johnston and J. F. Sime on pages 5 and 6 of their "Exploitation in India" where they expressed their indignation at the disparity between the "scandalously low" wages and the "simply staggering profits," pointing out in that connection that in the decade 1915-24, "the average annual profit was eight times the wages bill".

That this delegation of the Jute and Flax Trade Union of Dundee did not draw too exaggerated a picture of the actual state of affairs is proved by what Dr. Vera Anstey of the London School of Economics said in 1929 on page 282 of her "Economic Development in India" where she expressed the view that "Although the jute mills earn magnificent dividends, they do not offer sufficiently good wages or working and living conditions to attract an efficient type of worker."

In the evidence tendered before the Royal Commission on Indian Labour (Vol. V, Part I, p. 304), the Jute Mills Association made an attempt to justify the low wages paid to workers on the plea that "one foreign worker, either in Dundee or the Continent (where much higher wages are paid) has to do work that requires the services of two operatives in India." There can be little doubt that, compared with the foreign worker, the Indian jute mill worker is inefficient so far as the output is

concerned. But as the wages paid to the latter are lower, the labour cost to the employer is less. This is proved by what Dr. Buchanan has said on page 372 of his "Development of Capitalistic Enterprise in India." Here he has referred to Parliamentary Papers, 1909 (*Cmd.* 4519, pp. 253-254 and p. 277) where it is on record that the British superintendent of mills had expressed the view that the average cost of manufacturing two hessian cloth in calcutta was Rs. 120 per ton as against Rs. 180 per ton in Dundee." There is nothing to show that the efficiency of the Indian jute worker has diminished since the above statement was made. Under these circumstances, it does not seem that the comparative inefficiency of the Indian worker has tended to lower profits or that it can be urged as a reason for the payment of low wages.

We shall now try to ascertain the major items of expenditure which have to be met out of the wages, incidentally referring to some of the causes responsible for the inefficiency of the jute worker.

XVII

These wages, inadequate as they appear to be, are subject to certain avoidable reductions the chief among which are those involved in the expenditure on narcotics and stimulants, payment of interest on debts and what has been called *dasturi*.

So far as the first of these items is concerned, it is admitted that the worker is under no compulsion to spend anything out of his slender earnings on drink and drugs. But before we condemn him, we should remember that very often indulgence in them is due to the monotony of his life, physical exhaustion, resulting from excessive labour and the lack of facilities for spending his leisure profitably and pleasantly.

Those who have taken any interest in the welfare of industrial workers are aware how very often the provision of amenities has the effect of greatly reducing their expenditure in these directions. And the present writer is convinced of the correctness of this view by what he has himself seen in the districts of Salem, Chittoor and Cuddapah in South India when prohibition was introduced there under the Congress regime. He can also vouch for the fact that intemperance is almost unknown among the workers in the factory of Messrs. Bata near Budge Budge and for identical reasons. About five years ago, when he was taking his humble share in organising Churches and Christian activities among the Telugu Christians employed in certain jute mills close to Serampore and Shalimar, he found that the far from satisfactory arrangements made for keeping them engaged on Saturday afternoons and Sundays had the effect of totally abolishing intemperance among them.

As regards indebtedness, the Royal Commission on Indian Labour expressed the opinion that "at least two-thirds of the industrial workers are in debt" as also that "in most cases the debt is larger than three months' wages." After stating that the rate of interest usually charged is one anna per rupee per month, that is 75 per cent per annum, it is calculated that at this rate "interest on debt amounting to three months' wages comes to 20 per cent of the monthly wages." Two other facts brought to light in this connection were that "frequently bigger rates of interest reaching a maximum of 150 per cent are charged" and that some moneylenders "obtain a higher rate than even 150 per cent by taking promissory notes for larger amounts than the loans really given." The correctness of these statements is clearly borne out by what appears in *Royal Labour Commission, Evidence, Vol. I, p. 97 and Vol. III, Part I, p. 182.*

If, as frequently happens, the workers are unable to pay the whole of the interest, the arrears are added to the sum advanced so that the original loan, nearly always a small amount, is gradually turned into a large and permanent debt which it is impossible for the workers at any time to pay off. The present writer knows of many cases where the moneylenders, generally Pathans, take from the workers the whole of their wages on pay day, giving them back just enough to keep body and soul together.

The usual causes of indebtedness are expenditure on such occasions as marriages, the celebration of religious festivals, births, deaths, sickness, dismissals, strikes and unemployment due to trade depression. It is admitted that workers, if so disposed, can avoid extravagance in certain cases, as also that they cannot expect much sympathy if they are dismissed for indiscipline or for participation in strikes. But it has to be remembered that the extraordinary expenditure due to births, deaths or sickness and during loss of work caused by trade depression cannot be avoided and the responsibility for debt due to these causes cannot be laid at the doors of the workers.

What the thoughtful Indian finds fault with is that while the British-controlled jute industry has displayed unusual ability, in organising itself efficiently and in maintaining its stability, it has failed to display its possession of the same qualities where this has involved the incurring of expenditure for the provision of amenities for the workers. Nor will he admit that failure in this direction has been due to lack of knowledge as regards either their utility or their necessity.

It is also felt that if concern had been felt for the jute workers and this, it is held, would have automatically made its appearance if there had

not been such an abundant supply of them, the mill authorities with all the resources at their command would have somehow contrived to at least reduce the intensity of the exploitation by moneylenders.

XVIII

The normal duties of the *sardar* inside the factory are those of a foreman, his importance lying in the position he occupies as an intermediary between the British manager and his British assistants and the workers. The European staff finds it more convenient to deal with a small number of *sardars* who know their work and are familiar with its ways than with their far more numerous workers. The difficulties which beset the situation have been summarised as follows :—

"The gulf (between British managers and their imported staff and the labourers) is so wide that even after many years of life in India, they know very little about them and find it always impossible to understand, much less appreciate the workers' ways, habits and difficulties."

These are the reasons which have made the *sardar* so indispensable in the jute as in other industries under European control. Nor can it be asserted that the British staff is totally ignorant of his reprehensible activities. These are winked at because it is recognised that the smooth working of the factory is impossible in the absence of the goodwill and loyal co-operation of the *sardar*. Aware of this great advantage in this favour, the *sardar* allows nothing to stand in the way of his exploitation of labour.

Under the well-known system of bribery known as *dasturi* for which the jute industry is notorious, the *sardar* who engages the workers charges for the original appointment and gets certain percentage which may vary from one to ten per cent of the wages.

For instance, a woman worker earning Rs. 3 a week in a jute mill informed the Royal Commission on Indian Labour that when she was first engaged she had to pay the *sardar* a bribe of Rs. 4 and two annas per week out of her wages and also that whenever she returned to work after the absence of a few weeks, she had to pay a similar sum, namely Rs. 4.

The Royal Commission on Indian Labour after stating its conviction as regards the prevalence of corruption of this type went on to say on page 24 of its report that

"The jobber himself has at times to subsidise the head jobber ; and it is said that even members of the supervising staff sometimes receive a a share of the bribe."

Mr. R. N. Gilchrist, at one time Labour Intelligence Officer of Bengal, referring to *dasturi* says in his *Wages and Profit-Sharing* that "*Dasturi* exists but cannot be proved. The lack of proof is not due to its non-existence, but to the unwillingness of individuals to disclose details. *Dasturi* is not only inherent in the wage system, but is a sort of insurance premium."

The Royal Commission on Indian Labour impressed with the extent of the bribery going on unchecked under the noses of the managerial staff, suggested its substantial reduction if not total elimination by the appointment of men of proved integrity and attractive personality as labour officers directly under the general manager. These men would engage labour after ascertaining the number required from the heads of the various departments and workers were to be dismissed either by them or by the managers after consultation with them.

This suggestion has not, however, been found acceptable by a large majority of the jute mills from which the inference has been drawn that the British managers feel so little concern for the welfare of their labourers that they are not prepared to exert themselves to set matters right when it involves the taking of even a reasonable amount of trouble.

XIX

Now that we have ascertained the wages earned by the jute workers and the reductions caused in it on account of his addiction to drink and drugs, payment of interest on debt and *dasturi*, the question which suggest itself is whether in addition to the expenditure which he must incur for such necessities as food, fuel, lighting, clothing and house-rent, there are any other legitimate demands on his earnings.

It is clear that even if lack of means prevents the jute worker from seeking medical assistance, unless he is seriously indisposed, he will have to incur expenditure in this direction when he is dangerously ill. As a human being, he would need some amusement, at least at rare intervals. If he has any affection for his children, he will have to spend some amount, however small, on their education. As a member of some religious and social group or other, he has to take part in its social and religious functions and this, as is well-known, implies some expenditure however small. Births, marriages and deaths too are among the normal events of our daily life, and however economical he may be, he cannot avoid incurring some expenditure when these events happen in his family. Besides, it is impossible to avoid expenditure on washing, replacement of household utensils and bedding and on hair-dressing. It therefore follows that expenditure on all these items must be taken into account in determining the adequacy or otherwise of the jute workers' wages.

In 1938, The International Labour Office, Geneva, issued a valuable "General Report on Industrial Labour in India." It is a mine of information for those desirous of familiarising themselves with our labour problems. We have on page 280 of this publication an analysis of some family budgets of industrial labour in India to only one item of which reference will be made here. After a careful examination of the family budgets of 125 families of jute mill workers in Calcutta, it was found that the average monthly income was Rs. 34-7 and the average monthly expenditure Rs. 32-1-6, leaving a monthly balance of Re. 1-5-6.

The things which have to be remembered here are that this amount represented the earnings of the father, the mother and occasionally the children, that practically 65 per cent of the earnings was spent on food which, according to that self-evident generalisation known as Engel's Law, is the best possible proof that the wages are insufficient and that a little over 21 per cent of the balance was used to meet expenses connected with clothing, rent, fuel and lighting, all-essential items.

It is obvious that the monthly balance of Re. 1-5-6 is totally insufficient to meet educational and medical expenditure, expenses connected with the celebration of social and religious functions and on such occasions as births, marriages and deaths as also expense for washing clothes, renewing cooking utensils, providing bedding and for the services of the barber and the like.

XX

All these factors compel the jute workers to spend as little as they can on food, clothing and housing. From facts placed by the workers themselves before the Royal Commission on Indian Labour it appears that the diet of a vast majority among them consists of rice or low grade wheat, a little pulse very little oil and spices and negligible quantities of the cheapest stale vegetables. Animal food like fish or meat and milk or ghee are very rarely taken because they are beyond their means. The same reason prevents them from renewing their clothes at regular intervals. In fact, many of them find it impossible to procure their minimum requirements in this direction without running into debt.

The result of the ill-balanced and often insufficient food taken by jute mill workers, mainly due to their meagre wages, is that the physique of even those coming from Bihar and Northern India deteriorates rapidly necessitating frequent visits to their village homes. As for those coming from the Telugu area and the local workers who normally are inferior to them, these break down earlier. The present writer can vouch for the correctness of these views as he has often gone among these workers in connection with the organisation of Churches and Christian activities among the Christian Indians who come to the jute mill area from South India.

XXI

So far as housing is concerned, some of the mills have put up what are called *pucca* " lines " for their workers. It has been stated that these accommodate about 40,000 though the workers actually employed in them are round about three times this number. The lines generally consist of rooms 10 ft. or 8 ft. by 8 ft., built in blocks erected back to back. The entrance of light and air is through a small door and a small window opening on the verandah used for both cooking and washing clothes, utensils, etc. The present writer has found that occasionally 8 to 12 souls live in such rooms with consequences easily imaginable.

That this objectionable state of things has not escaped the notice of non-Indian observers is proved by what D. F. Curjel has said in " Women's Labour in Bengal Industries " where it is stated that " Inspite of the abundance of land in jute towns, single room houses meant for four adults are sometimes occupied by 11 to 16 adults."

The rent charged for these rooms varies from twelve annas to two rupees per month, the proceeds being ordinarily spent for maintenance or for securing a small profit. These quarters have a fairly adequate water supply, sanitary arrangements, surface drains and conservancy arrangements.

The majority of the workers in jute mills have, however, to arrange housing for themselves. This is secured in what are called *bustees*. A typical house in a *bustee* has a small central courtyard surrounded on all sides by thatched rooms with mud walls. The average size of each room is 9 ft. by 6 ft. in each of which a family of four to five people lives, stores things and cooks its food. The rent charged varies from Re. 1 to Re. 1-8 per month. These huts are built by mill *sardars*, moneylenders or other people, who live by the exploitation of labour. Always located in thickly crowded and insanitary areas close to jute mills, visiting or even passing through a *bustee* is a most unpleasant experience. Unequalled as regards squalor, filth and stench, their sanitary condition is appalling with the result that epidemics like cholera, small-pox and enteric rage unchecked among those living in them.

Apart from the toll taken by epidemics in *bustee*, the habits and the general surroundings of the workers, the unsatisfactory nature of their diet, their low standard of life combine to make them victims of many ailments such as malaria, hookworm, dysentery and other preventible diseases, weakness caused by which has been regarded as, at least partly, explaining the inefficiency of Indian labour.

Dr. Vera Anstey explained the abundant supply of labour available even under these serious disadvantages when on page 281 of her " Eco-

nomic Development of India" she said that "These conditions are only endured by the workers because they, like the coal-miners, look upon their factory life as merely a temporary evil—a passing phase in their existence which will soon be over and forgotten when they return to their *mulk*."

XXII

The inadequate wages, unsatisfactory living conditions, the exactions of the *sardars* and moneylenders and ill-health naturally enough lead to a chronic state of discontent. This manifests itself in strikes whenever the sufferings of the workers are heightened by a rise in prices of the necessaries of life leading to a wide gap between their wages and the cost of living. Though occasionally caused by oppression, real or fancied, it is an admitted fact that a large majority of labour disputes are due to economic causes, the intensity of the discontent being increased when there are reasons for thinking that the industry is making large profits without at the same time allowing the jute workers to participate in its prosperity. The correctness of these views is proved by the history of all the major strikes from 1914 down to recent times.

The war of 1914-18 not only caused an enormous demand for Indian products among which jute manufactures occupied an important position but it also led to the limited imports of certain commodities for the supply of which India depended on the outside world. The prices of salt, cotton cloth, kerosene, etc., became very high and were further aggravated by profiteering. There was also a steep rise in the prices of food grains.

Every jump in prices saw demands from workers for increases in wages and for the grant of dearness allowances. As phenomenal profits were being earned in the jute industry as is proved by the fact that thirteen mills in Bengal paid dividends of 200 per cent and over for the year 1918, these demands were conceded, but always grudgingly.

Even then, the inadequacy of the wages and the high prices led to an epidemic of strikes. These commenced from 1920 and the workers were successful in nearly two-thirds of them. The cost of living fell in 1921-23 and with it the gap between it and wages gradually diminished. The result was that up to 1927 strikes were less frequent and generally unsuccessful. In 1929, the jute mills decided to increase the working hours from 54 to 60 without at the same time paying labourers what they considered fair remuneration. This led to one of the most important of strikes in the jute industry. Nearly 275,000 workers participated in it, the loss in wages suffered by them being over 21 lakhs.

The period 1930-36 witnessed the deepening of the depression which had set in a year or so before and with it attempts on the part of the employers to cut down expenses by attacks, direct and indirect, on the wages of the workers. In pursuance of this policy, Bengal jute mills had recourse to short time for restriction of output with consequent reduction in which the labourers had to accept through sheer necessity.

The year 1937 saw the recrudescene of strikes, the workers demanding higher wages and restoration of wage cuts where they had taken place on the ground of improvement in business. About two lakhs and a quarter of jute workers went on strike securing Trade Union recognition and other concessions. In November, 1938, there was another big strike in the jute mills at Titaghur in which nearly half a lakh took part. This lasted up to January, 1939, when it collapsed. There were large scale strikes in 1939, which lingered on to 1940. These mainly centred on the demand for dearness allowances to neutralise the rise in the cost of living following the outbreak of the present war. They proved that while jute mill workers, like their brethren in other industries, were prepared to offer their fullest co-operation to their employers in the matter of earning profits, they were determined on having a fair deal under war-time conditions.

The Indian Jute Mills Association sanctioned the grant of a uniform increase of 10 per cent over pre-war wages to the employees of all jute mills with effect from November, 1939, with an extra Re. 1 per month as a special allowance in 1941.

It is not perhaps incorrect to assume that friction between the employers and the employees in the jute as in other industries will continue so long as the latter are not given living wages.

XXIII

Apart from the wrong, for it is nothing else, involved in the low prices paid for raw jute and the inadequate wages paid to workers, the European jute industry as organised at present has also committed a mistake by its deliberate refusal to seek the association of Indians in the directorate or in the management. One of the effects of the adoption of this attitude has been referred to by Dr. P. N. Bannerjea, formerly Minto Professor of Economics in the Calcutta University, on page 92 of his *Indian Economics* where he has said that "The predominating control exercised by Europeans over this industry has been responsible for constant misunderstandings between the industry on the one hand and the public on the other."

Whether this is a desirable state of things or not is for those controlling the jute industry at present to consider. There can, however, be

little doubt that it has made easy the aggravation of bitterness of feelings in the inevitable conflicts between employers and employees by making it possible for designing labour leaders to give them a racial complexion.

Further, Indian shareholders have regarded it as a grievance that they have been kept out from influencing to any appreciable extent the policy followed by the jute industry. These point out, it must be admitted with some justification, that as many non-Indians hold multiple directorships in jute mills without always holding a fairly large number of shares, they should be replaced by Indians who have larger financial stakes in these concerns.

We have also to remember that the typical jute mill of normal size ha one European assistant for every 250 to 300 Indian workers, their total number varying from 15 to 20. From such contacts as the present writer has been able to establish with a few among them, he has been driven to the conclusion that they are generally poor Scotch boys from the farms and towns round about Dundee in which centre of the jute industry they have served their apprenticeship and learnt their trade. Over them are a couple or so of chief assistants and over all the mill manager. These are paid salaries which, from the Indian point of view, may be considered generous.

Nor can it be said in view of what Indians are doing to-day in the cotton mills of Bombay and the iron and steel industry of Jamshedpur, that the work these men are doing cannot be done equally efficiently by properly qualified and trained natives of this country. These facilities have not in the past been offered to Indians though there is no hesitation in utilising Indian capital, Indian labour and the Indian grower for carrying on the activities of the jute industry.

XXIV

Harking back for one moment to the claims advanced by the President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce in February, 1919, that Britons engaged in commerce and industry in our motherland are not exploiters and profiteers and that taking into account the services rendered by them, they enjoy the least proportion of the wealth which comes to India as the result of their labours and examining their correctness in the light of the facts and figures placed before the reader, one feels tempted to seek a reply to the question which Lovat Fraser put to his countrymen nearly half a century ago in his *India under Curzon and After*,

"We invite the whole world to witness that we are in India for the benefit of the Indian people and not for our own. Are we sure that in all respects we are justifying the boast?"

ANTHROPOLOGY AT CAMBRIDGE AND LONDON*

NABENDU DATTA-MAJUMDAR

THE main object of this article is to give an idea of (*i*) exactly what is taught in the Department of Anthropology in Cambridge University, (*ii*) who are the teachers, (*iii*) the method of teaching there, (*iv*) the function of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, which is situated in London, (*v*) the position held by some anthropologists in some of the controversial problems in Anthropology, and (*vi*) the latest tendencies in Anthropology.

Before embarking on a description of the subjects taught it should be mentioned that since the evacuation of the London School of Economics to Cambridge at the beginning of the War, all lectures are being held jointly. The same lectures are attended by the Cambridge University students and the London School of Economics students for their Tripos and B.Sc. Examinations respectively. The lectures are held in the "Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology" which belongs to Cambridge University and where the Department of Anthropology of that University is housed. All the lecturers except Dr. Raymond Firth who is in the London School of Economics, belong to Cambridge University.

According to the convenience of the lecturers Anthropology has been divided into the following branches: General Anthropology, Social Anthropology, Physical Anthropology, Prehistory and General Material Culture Series of lectures have also been given on such special subjects as Geochronology, Megalithic Cultures of Europe, Fossil Hominidae, Races of Man, Origins of Civilization, Primitive Economics and Indian and African Anthropology.

Lectures in General Anthropology have dealt with the history of anthropology, definition of culture and environment, cultural change, diffusion and independent development of items of culture, principal anthropological schools, meaning and origin of language, language families of the world and origin of the domestication of animals, the object and essentials of field work, etc.

Lectures in Social Anthropology have dealt with such problems as the relation of Social Anthropology to other social sciences, object of Social Anthropology, sociology of material culture, functional inter-relation of items of behaviour, influence of social ideas on individual ideas, elementary principles of social grouping, the importance of 'family' as a social institution, different forms of marriage, history of family, functions of clan,

* Read at a Meeting of the Bengali Institute of Sociology on May 7, 1944

family and tribes, exogamy and endogamy, significance and varieties of totemism, etc.

In Physical Anthropology there have been lectures on man's place among the mammals, difference between man and the anthropoid apes, man's ancestry, measurements on the skull, facial, nasal, orbital and palatal indices, the distribution of blood groups, measuring cranial capacity.

Lectures in General Material Culture have dealt with the diffusion, independent invention and discovery of the material items of culture, effects of environment on artefacts, the description of the important artefacts, the importance of blow guns in connection with problems of diffusion and evolution, different methods of making fire, origin of pottery, various methods of the decoration of pottery, origin of glass and textiles.

Lectures in Primitive Economics dealt with the integrative, quantitative and dynamic aspects of primitive economics, the importance of the formulation of the problem in research, types of qualitative materials, general problems of wants and resources, how the type of production is determined, different kinds of values, different kinds of barter, functions of money.

Lectures in Primitive Religion discussed the relation between magic and science, mana and taboo, and fetishism.

Lectures on the Races of Man explained the difference between stocks and races, race and nationality, the classification of the races of the world.

Lectures on Fossil Hominidae explained the object of studying the fossil remains of man, and described the skeletal remains of ancient man, *e.g.*, Pithecanthropus erectus, Sinanthropus Pekinensis, etc.

The lectures on Geochronology dealt with the methods of correlating human cultures to Ice Ages, causes of Ice Age, etc.

The lectures on the Origin of Civilisation dealt with the disciplines that are helpful in the reconstruction of the prehistoric past of man, the pliocene origin of man and why does change in human affairs take place.

The lectures on the Megalithic Cultures of Europe dealt with the different kinds of burial in tombs, origin and spread of neolithic civilization and different structures of neolithic tombs.

There were a few lectures on India which dealt with Indian Prehistory Ethnology, Languages, Religion.

A few introductory remarks may be made about the lecturers who are mostly people of international reputation. Professor J. H. Hutton delivered the lectures on General Material Culture, primitive religion and India. He is the Professor of Anthropology in Cambridge University, and has been elected President of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland for the current year. He spent several years in India and has written a number of monographs on the Naga Tribes of Assam.

Mr. M. C. Burkitt delivered the lectures on Prehistory. He has written a number of standard books on prehistory and has international reputation. He is a charming man and very obliging. The prehistoric implements and painting in his private room in the Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology are so well arranged that it has great educational value.

Mr. J. H. Driberg delivered the lectures on Social Anthropology. He has written a few books on African tribes. Africa is his special field of work. His books *At Home with the Savage* and *The Savage as He Really Is* are interesting studies.

Mr. J. C. Trevor delivered the lectures on General Anthropology, Physical Anthropology, Fossil Hominidae, and Races of Man. He graduated from Oxford University, and has contributed a number of original articles embodying his research work to the various scientific journals of Britain. Unfortunately, he has been called up for war work in Africa. I know that he prefers anthropological work and hope that he would be able to resume his researches after the War. Incidentally, he had the privilege of being the first anthropologist to be in charge of the Duckworth Laboratory of Physical Anthropology at Cambridge University and I had the privilege of being the first research-worker in that laboratory under him. It was at his suggestion that I undertook to measure the cranial capacity of 100 Negro skulls, collected by P. B Du Chaillu, a famous French explorer, from Western Equatorial Africa. These skulls belong to the British Museum but were lent to the Cambridge University at the outbreak of the War. The object in my measurements was to find out the reliability of the Breitinger method of measuring cranial capacity.

Dr. J. G. D. Clark gave the lectures on Geochronology. He is a geologist and has written at least one standard book on his subject.

Dr. G. E. Daniel gave the lectures on Megalithic cultures of Europe, and Origins of Civilization. He is a Fellow of St. John's College Cambridge and gave me the impression of being very sound in his subject.

Dr. Raymond Firth gave a number of lectures on Social Anthropology, and Primitive Economics. He belongs to the London School of Economics. He has written many books and has international reputation as an anthropologist. Mention may be made here of three of his well known books—*Primitive Polynesian Economy, Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori,* and *We the Tikopia,* which are important contributions to the study of anthropology. I had the privilege of doing some research work in primitive economics under him and found him extremely helpful, and always ready with suggestions and criticisms. Recently, he has been employed by some War Department. I hope he would soon be relieved for his anthropological work. I should like to take this opportunity of

expressing my deep gratitude to M. Ginsberg, Professor of Sociology, London University, with whom I first started my researches in primitive economics, and who helped me with valuable suggestions till Dr. Raymond Firth came back from his field investigations in Malaya. His book—*The Material Culture and Social Institutions of Simpler Peoples*,—written together with L. T. Hobhouse, and G. C. Wheeler, and published in 1915, is one of the pioneering works in the field of primitive economics.

In connection with the teaching of Anthropology in Cambridge, I might make a few comparative remarks. As far as the scope of Physical Anthropology is concerned, M. A. and M. Sc. students of Calcutta University have to learn more than the Tripos students. Even in the matter of technical equipments needed for the teaching of Physical Anthropology, Calcutta University is better equipped than Cambridge University. Mr. Trevor was conscious of this drawback, and tried hard to get the necessary equipments for the University. Now that he is gone, I hope his successor, Mr. K. L. Little, would be able to remedy this defect. Incidentally, Physical Anthropology is neglected in the whole of Britain. But the teaching of Prehistory in Cambridge is more thorough than in Calcutta. Cambridge University has a better collection of prehistoric implements representing various prehistoric cultures than Calcutta University. I hope the Anthropology Department here would look into the matter.

With regard to the method of teaching, there are three points worth noticing: (1) In Cambridge they always give full and free scope for discussion in the class. (2) The whole class is divided into a number of tutorial groups, each consisting of four or five students. Each group is to be supervised by one lecturer. These groups hold their sessions in addition to the regular class lectures and through this mechanism every student gets more personal attention. (3) Students are encouraged to read up the references given in the class or in the tutorial groups. There is a very good anthropological library in the same building, which is a gift from Dr. A. C. Haddon and named after him "Haddon Library." After the classes the students run up to the library and look up the references given.

The Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, which celebrated its Centenary Meeting in October, 1943, has alway played a very important rôle in the development of anthropology. The Institute holds regular monthly meetings in its premises in London, where original papers are read by anthropologists of the United Kingdom as well as other countries. These meetings give rise to lively discussions, and thereby help to create and maintain a healthy interest in the science. Moreover, the Institute possesses a very good library from which its

Fellows can borrow the books at a time for a period of two months. The same books can be reissued for a further period if there is no demand for them. The annual Presidential Address and the Huxley Memorial Lectures of the Institute are of special importance. For they are given by eminent anthropologists and very often embody suggestions which might lead to new stages in the development of the science.

A few problems in Anthropology in which there is room for more than one opinion may be discussed here. (1) Is there law in primitive societies? This question is answered by B. Malinowski, the late Professor of Anthropology, London University, in the affirmative. He holds that in every community, however primitive it may be, there are rules of conduct and social arrangements for their enforcement, and hence there is law. Raymond Firth seems to subscribe to this view. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, Professor of Anthropology, Oxford University, denies the existence of law in primitive societies. I. Schapera differentiates between custom and law, and adopts more or less Radcliffe-Brown's point of view. (2) Is the mind of the so-called savage fundamentally different from that of the so-called civilized being? Levy Brühl, a French psychologist, held the view that savages were unable to grasp the law of contradiction, that savage mentality was pre-logical. This view is no longer accepted by anthropologists. Raymond Firth and Driberg, who have the experience of living among primitive tribes for a long period, are of the opinion that there is no fundamental difference between primitive mentality and civilized mentality, and that the savage shares equally with his civilized brother in the possession of the reasoning capacity, the only difference being that the reasoning capacity of the primitive peoples works on a different set of premises. Paul Radin, an American anthropologist, who studied in Cambridge University, thinks that primitive peoples are capable of highly reflective analysis. (3) Is the study of races going to lead anywhere? Some people think that there has been so much inter-mixture of races in the world, that the term race has no meaning today, and that there is no possibility of ever arriving at a satisfactory criterion for the classification of races. Dr. G. Morant, Professor of Physical Anthropology, London University, does not subscribe to this view. While admitting that the existing definition of the word *race* is vague, and that the present classification of races is not properly scientific, he maintains that there is no reason to despair and that scientific researches will sooner or later discover the real clue to the study of races. (4) Should there be more integration between the three branches of Anthropology—Physical Anthropology, Prehistoric Archaeology and Cultural Anthropology. Professor Daryll Forde of Wales University at Aberystwith advocates such integration and thinks that there can be no real border

lines between the branches of Anthropology. Firth disagrees with Forde on the issue of integration *versus* specialisation. He maintains that the different branches of Anthropology calls for entirely different disciplines and that Social Anthropology is related to Sociology rather than to Physical Anthropology or Archaeology.

In conclusion three of the latest tendencies in Anthropology may be mentioned here. The first tendency that strikes every observer is that there is a great striving among the anthropologists to raise Anthropology in general, and Social Anthropology in particular, on a par with other sciences. Everybody is conscious of the fact that Anthropology lags far behind the natural sciences in respect of both the formulation of general laws and scientific terminology. Everybody realises that though Anthropology cannot be expected to be as accurate a science as Physics or Chemistry yet it can be put on a much more scientific basis. This tendency has run throughout the proceedings of the Centenary Meeting of the Royal Anthropological Institute. The second tendency is to build up an Applied Anthropology. This is manifested in two ways: firstly, attempts are being made to establish closer co-operation between Anthropology and Colonial Administration. The idea is to apply anthropological knowledge to the government and to the education of primitive peoples. This would serve a two-fold purpose. On the one hand it would be a great fillip to anthropological researches, on the other it would create better understanding between the administrators and the primitive peoples. But the rate of development of the science and the creation of better understanding would be subject to one condition, and that is the presence or otherwise of the Imperialist outlook of domination and exploitation. If anthropologists be a party to this outlook, the science is bound to suffer in many ways. Raymond Firth is conscious of this danger when he says in his paper on "The Future of Social Anthropology," read at the Centenary Meeting, "Freedom of action must be reserved to the anthropologist if he is to participate. It is his duty to state his position in terms of his own ultimate values and assumptions, and it is his right to determine how and where he will apply his results." In the course of the discussion on the aforementioned paper I drew the attention of the anthropologists present to the danger involved in the tendency, visible in some quarters, which I described as the invasion of Anthropology by the imperialist outlook, and stressed the necessity of being on guard against this danger in the best interests of the science I was not against the principle of co operation between Anthropology and administration, but thought that such co-operation should be guided by the genuine motive of developing the economic and cultural conditions of the primitive peoples in a manner that will enable them to catch up with the most

advanced peoples of the world. I was against any attempt to make the primitive peoples the hewers of wood and drawers of water for any people, coloured or colourless. Firth told me after the meeting that he fully agreed with what I said. A second way in which the tendency to build up Applied Anthropology is manifested is the eagerness to devise ways and means of using Anthropology in the post-war reconstruction of human society in general, primitive as well as non-primitive. This is the standpoint taken by F. C. Bartlett, Professor of Psychology, Cambridge University, in his Huxley Memorial Lecture, delivered on November 23, 1943, in which he says, "Anthropology should take a leading interest and a practical share in all future construction and reconstruction of human society. If it is to do this satisfactorily, its chief aim, now and for some time to come, must be to study the conditions which affect the behaviour of large contemporary populations and to understand how they work. It must be able to say what are the probabilities that if a particular group is subjected to certain specified conditions, these will issue in a particular type of behaviour. Whether such behaviour is desirable is not the anthropologist's concern but it is his concern to help to say what must be done if political or other considerations indicate that a particular development of large-scale behaviour is to be sought." Firth also wants Anthropology to transcend the narrow, traditional limits set by what is called primitive communities, and to cover non-primitive societies within the scope of its study. This is evident when he says in his paper mentioned before "We may expect to find him (*i.e.*, the anthropologist) sooner or later studying the effects of industrialization on a rural community in the Balkans, what happens in an English village if a new agricultural policy is put into operation, the relation between religious belief and social structure in an English cathedral town, or the effects of mass education and a new land system on indebtedness among Chinese farmers." But he believes that the main contribution of Anthropology would be, for some time to come, in the field of what he calls micro-sociology, *i.e.*, "the study of small groups or of small units in larger groups, of how relationships operate on a small scale," as distinct from macro-sociology, which is the sphere of the sociologist.

The third tendency, which is a very healthy one, is that of promoting collaboration between Anthropolgy and other social sciences, and also between anthropologists of different countries. Emphasis is being laid on the necessity of organising planned and co-operative research in anthropology. It is a good sign that the Soviet idea of planning the socio-economico-cultural life has been gradually infiltrating into the consciousness of the scientists of the capitalist countries.

THE THEORY OF INTERNAL RELATIONS

DR. SATISCHANDRA CHATTERJEE, M.A., PH.D.
Calcutta University

I

THE theory of internal relations is generally advocated by the idealistic thinkers as against the realists who uphold the doctrine of external relations. But while the advocates of external relations usually hold a qualified position and admit that *some* relations are internal, the supporters of the doctrine of internal relations are usually more uncompromising and maintain that all relations are in the end internal and none barely external. What then is meant by 'internal relation'? Every relation holds between certain things called the terms of the relation. When the relation is such that it enters into the being of its terms and affects their nature and existence, it is called internal. Internal relation is grounded in the nature of the terms related, so that the terms would not be what they are apart from the relation. It is thus a necessary relation between the things related, for it exists within and constitutes an essential aspect of the things, and we cannot take them out of the relation without prejudice to their nature and existence. If two things are internally related we are to understand that it is their very nature to be related in that way and that they would not *be* if they cease to be so related. Thus there is an internal relation between a mind and its consciousness, a body and its extension. A mind is what it is in virtue of its relation to consciousness and the latter also cannot be unless it is related to a mind. The two are essentially related to each other in so far as it is their very nature or essence to be so related. Similarly, a body and its quality of extension are internally related inasmuch as we cannot have the one apart from the other without destroying them both. Mr. Bradley who is an advocate of internal relations declares that 'relations are all intrinsical' in this sense. He says that 'a relation must at both ends affect, and pass into, the being of its terms', and that 'every relation essentially penetrates the being of its terms, and, in this sense, is intrinsical'.[1] Professor Joachim, who also accepts the same theory, holds that 'all relations are internal in the sense that they qualify or modify or make a difference to the terms between which they hold, and that no terms are independent of any of the relations

[1] Bradley, *Appearance and Reality*, pp. 322, 347.

in which they stand to other terms '.[1] Another characteristic of internal relation is that it implies one unity or complex whole within which the related terms are included as parts. If A and B are related, it must be because there is some unity which holds them as different parts of itself. There can be no relation between two absolutely simple and independent entities like Leibnitz's monads. If things are related that means that they are somehow parts of one whole. Two colours are related as similar to or different from each other in so far as both belong to the class of colours. One physical object is on this or that side of another inasmuch as both are contained in one space. It is probably in view of this that Dr. Ewing says that 'etymologically internal relations should mean relations between elements within a given whole '.[2] Both Mr. Bradley and Professor Joachim are emphatic on this point. The latter tells us that 'so far as A and B are related, they are *eo ipso* interdependent features of something other than either of them singly ; and that if A and B really are each absolutely simple and independent, it is nonsense to say that they also are really related '.[3] So also Mr. Bradley says: "A relation between *A* and *B* implies really a substantial foundation within them. This foundation, if we say that *A* is like to *B*, is the identity *X* which holds these differences together. And so with space and time—everywhere there must be a whole embracing what is related, or there would be no differences and no relation ".[4] He tells us further that without a substantial whole within which the related terms fall, not only the relation but the terms also would be destroyed. "Relations," says he, "are unmeaning except within and on the basis of a substantial whole, and related terms, if made absolute, are forthwith destroyed."[5]

Dr. Ewing distinguishes ten different meanings of 'internal relation '.[6] This would suggest that there is a good deal of ambiguity in the sense in which the phrase may be or has been used. Without making any attempt to enumerate here the different meanings of it, we may say that 'internal relation' means (1) that the terms related have no independent existence and nature of their own apart from all relations, (2) that they are what they are in virtue of their relations to one another, (3) that their relations are essential to and inseparable from them, (4) that they cannot be taken out of the relations without changing their nature and even destroying them, and (5) that the terms related must be held together as different parts of one whole. Professor Blanshard very well explains

1 Joachim, *The Nature of Truth*, pp. 11-12, 43-50.
2 A. C. Ewing, *Idealism*, p 118.
3 Joachim, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
4 Bradley, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 125.
6 Ewing, *Idealism*, pp. 119 f.

the main positions in the theory of internal relations when he says, that 'put more formally, the theory is this: (1) that every term, *i.e.* every possible object of thought, is what it is in virtue of relations to what is other than itself; (2) that its nature is affected thus not by some of its relations only, but in differing degrees by all of them; (3) that in consequence of this and the further fact that everything is related in *some* way to everything else, no knowledge will reveal completely the nature of any term until it has exhausted that term's relations to everything else'.[1]

The theory of internality of relations leads to some important consequences in epistemology and metaphysics. All relations being internal, knowledge as the relation between subject and object must enter into and affect the nature and existence of both. Knowledge would thus be internal to both the subject or mind that knows and the objects that are known. Hence the nature and existence of the objects of the world depend on their being known by the mind. Apart from this relation to the mind there would be neither objects nor the world of objects. Secondly, it must be admitted that the knowledge of any one object involves the knowledge of its relations to all other objects and, therefore, of the whole system of objects, since every object is in *some* way related to every other object and to the whole system of objects. So all our ordinary knowledge about objects will be partially true, and different cases of human knowledge will reflect different degrees of truth, since no human knowledge can exhaustively know the entire system of objects. If there be any knowledge which includes all objects with all their relations, *i.e.* which is as wide as the whole system of objects, then we will have the truth, real and complete. So there will be but one truth as the systematic coherence of all experiences of objects in one organised individual experience. Thus the doctrine of internal relations leads logically to the coherence theory of truth and the belief in degrees of truth. It also leads to monism in metaphysics. On the theory of internal relations, things cannot exist apart from their relations to one another. The nature and existence of every object depend on its relation to all other objects. The objects of the world, including physical things and conscious minds, are what they are because of their necessary relations to one another. But if they are thus related internally, that must be because there is a higher unity or larger whole within which they are all contained as parts. This unity or whole must be one, universal and all-inclusive. For if there be other wholes to which it is related, then these must all be included within a supreme

[1] Brand Blanshard, *The Nature of Thought*, Vol. II, p. 452.

whole or system of wholes. Thus we are led to the view that the objects of the world—minds, selves and physical things—are not independent and isolated realities but interdependent parts or factors of one absolute reality. There must be a single supreme system or reality within which all things are internally related to one another, and all things must be dependent upon their relation to other things and to the whole system of things or the supreme reality. Mr. Russell rightly observes that 'it is evident that if reality or truth is a significant whole in Professor Joachim's sense, the axiom of internal relations must be true'.[1]

Let us now consider the arguments that have been advanced for and against the theory of internal relations. In support of this theory it has been argued first that the very being of anything depends on its relations to other things. A thing is something in so far as it is different from other things. According to Hegel, if a thing is to be at all, it must be this *rather than that*, and the 'rather than that' belongs as truly to its essence as the 'this'.[2] Take, for example, a table. The being of a table depends as much on the presence of a table-character in it as on the absence of other different characters from it. It is a table in so far as it is not a chair, a stool, a plough-share, a tree, an animal, and so on. If it were not, on the one hand, similar to other tables and, on the other hand, different from whatever is not a table, it would not really be a table. Thus it becomes a table by virtue of its relations of similarity to other tables and difference from all non-tables. If any of its relations to these other objects changes, *i.e.* if it ceases to be similar to any other table or to be different from what is not a table, then it would cease to be a table. This shows how a thing's relations to other things determine the nature and existence of that thing and are, therefore, internal.

Secondly, it has been argued by Bosanquet that 'relations are true of their terms. They express their position in complexes, which positions elicit their behaviour, their self-maintenance in the world of things.'[3] This means that relations express the nature of the terms related by them. If they were purely external, we cannot sensibly speak of them as true of the terms. This point has also been urged by Bradley.[4] 'If a relation,' asks Bradley, 'is external to the terms, how can it possibly be true of them?' 'It is commonly supposed that by comparison we learn the truth about things; but now, if the relation established by comparison

1 Bertrand Russell, *Philosophical Essays*, p. 161.
2 Cf. *Hegel's Science of Logic*, Vol. I, p. 138 (Eng. Tr. by Johnston and Struthers).
3 Bosanquet, *Logic*, Vol. II, p. 278 (2nd. ed.).
4 Bradley, *Appearance and Reality*, pp. 514-18.

falls outside of the terms, in what sense, if at all, can it be said to qualify them? And of what, if not of the terms, are the truths got by comparison true? To say that they are true of the terms is to say that they are not made true by us but by the terms themselves. In fact, if truth is truth it cannot be made by us, and what is only made by us cannot be true. It follows from this that relations which are true of the terms are made true by the nature of the terms themselves and are, therefore, internal to them.

Thirdly, it has been argued that relations are grounded in the natures of the related terms. The relations between two things are determined at least partly by the nature of those things. Thus if there is to be a spatial relation between two things like 'one being to the west of another', the things themselves must be spatial. This is the reason why physical substances can have spatial relations which abstract qualities like virtue and justice cannot have, and these moral qualities can have moral relations which cannot hold between physical things. Of two houses it might be said that one is to the west of another, but this cannot be said with regard to two qualities like virtue and justice. Again, justice may be said to be nobler than courage, but one house cannot be said to be nobler than another in the same sense. Thus if the nature of the terms were different, the relations also would be different. This shows that relations arise out of the natures of the related terms and are thus internal to them.

Fourthly, it has been urged that if two things have a certain relation, then they cannot but have it, and if they did not have it they would be different. If A and B are related in a certain way, then anything not so related must be other than A and B. Hence there must be something in them which is essential to their being related as they are. Both Mr. Russell and Dr. Moore treat this argument in support of internal relations as fallacious. But in the case of some relations we have to admit that the related terms would be different if they did not have the relation in question. Dr. Moore himself admits that 'the quality "orange" is intermediate in shade between the qualities yellow and red'. Now orange which has this relation of being intermediate between yellow and red, cannot but be so related to them, and anything which is not so related to these two colours must be different from orange. Likewise, yellow and red which have certain relations to each other and to orange cannot but have them, and qualities which have not these relations must be different from yellow and red. Some relations therefore affect the terms related and are thus internal. These relations give rise to what Dr. Moore calls "relational properties" and recognises as

" internal to " their terms. But while he thinks that only some relational properties are really internal and others external to their terms, the advocates of internal relations hold that all relations give rise to relational properties which are internal. The relations of the terms could not be different without the properties also being different, since a term with a certain relation is different from one without it. The properties again could not be different without a difference in the nature of the terms because their nature consists of their properties. Thus with regard to all relations it may be said that if they were different, their terms also would be different. And this means that all relations are internal. [1]

Fifthly, it has been pointed out by some idealists that we can sometimes argue from one fact to another and this would be impossible if the two were not internally related.[2] Given certain facts as data we can infer certain other facts as follwing from them. Thus we can infer future rain from the presence of heavy dark clouds in the sky and forecast meteorological phenomena from present weather conditions. All this could not be done if these facts were not so connected that one naturally passes into the other, *i.e.* if they were not internally related.

Further, it has been argued by both Bradley and Professor Joachim that if things are not related by their very nature, then no relations can possibly bring them together. If A and B are two entities which are independent of each other and of any relation to each other, then any relation which may be supposed to hold between the two would be a third entity independent of both. As such, the relation itself would require other relations to relate it to A and B on both sides of it. These relations again being independent of the first, would require still other relations to relate them to the first and so on *ad infinitum*. Hence no relation can relate the terms unless they are related in themselves, *i.e.* are internally related. 'A relation', says Professor Joachim, ' which really *falls between* two independent entities, is a third independent entity which in no intelligible sense relates the first two '. [3] Likewise Bradley says, ' the problem of relation is not solved by taking relations as independently real. For, if so, the terms and their relation fall entirely apart, and then we have said nothing. Or we have to make a new relation between the old relation and the terms ; which, when it is made, does not help us. It either itself demands a new relation, and so on without end, or it leaves us where we were, entangled in difficulties.' [4]

[1] *Vide* Russell, *Philosophical Essays*, pp. 164f ; G. E. Moore, *Philosophical Studies*, pp. 286f.
[2] Cf. Bradley, *Essays on Truth and Reality*, p. 259.
[3] Joachim, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
[4] Bradley, *Appearance and Reality*, p. 18.

The last and the most important argument for the theory of internal relations, which we propose to consider here, is based on the law of causation. The law of causation is universal, it governs all things and beings of this world. With regard to any object of the world, be it a physical thing, an organic body or a conscious mind, it may be said that it always acts on and is acted upon by other things. Everything of the physical world is conditioned in its origin and development by certain other things which in their turn are conditioned by still other things and so on without end. Again, while one thing is causally related to certain other things directly, it is so related to all other things indirectly. As Alexander says, 'there is ultimately some direct or indirect causal connection between all finites'.[1] Scientists tell us that light-waves travel from every part of space to every other and so between all physical objects. We see for ourselves how sound-waves travel from one end of the world to the other and affect our ears at both ends. According to Sir James Jeans, science has made it practically certain that 'every body pulls every other towards it, no matter how distant it may be. Newton's apple not only exerted its pull on the earth, but on every star in the sky, and the motion of every star was affected by its fall. We cannot move a finger without disturbing all the stars'.[2]

The idea of indeterminism which has been introduced into philosophy from modern quantum physics does not really disprove the universality of the law of causation. According to the principle of Indeterminacy, the velocity and position of a particle of matter are undetermined. But from this we should not conclude that these are uncaused. It is now almost fashionable for some philosophers to say that since there is an element of indeterminism in the movement of the sub-atomic particles we are to say that all actions including those of human beings are undetermined and free. But as J. E. Turner has pointed out, "The use to which the Principle of Indeterminacy has been put is largely due to an ambiguity in the word 'determined'."[3] Commenting on this Mr. Russell observes that 'there is nothing whatever in the Principle of Indeterminacy to show that any physical event is uncaused'.[4] It may be undetermined in the sense that it cannot be quantitatively measured, but it is determined in the sense that it is caused. On the whole, we may therefore say that all things are causally related, either directly or indirectly.

Now if all things are causally related, it follows that they are related internally, for causality is an internal relation. The causal relation enters

1 Samuel Alexander, *Space, Time and Deity*, Vol. II., p. 152.
2 *The Stars in their Courses*, p. 72
3 *Vide* Russell, *The Scientific Outlook*, p. 109.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 110.

into the being of the terms related so much so that the terms are what they are in virtue of the relation. Neither the cause nor the effect can exist without relation to the other. Further, the causal relation is such that it follows from the nature of the terms themselves. A cause by its very nature leads to the effect and the effect in its turn expresses the nature of the cause. If fire burns and water cools, it is their very nature to lead to such and such effects, and the effects are by their very nature related to such and such causes. Again, the causal relation between two things is a necessary and essential relation. We cannot alter the relation without altering both or at least one of the related terms. Thus apart from relation to fire there would be no burning and apart from burning or heat there would be no fire. All this shows that causality is internal to the terms related by it. If, therefore, all things are causally related we are to say that they are internally related to one another.

As for arguments against the theory of internal relations the following are important.

In the first place, it has been pointed out that none of the arguments offered in support of the theory proves that *all* relations are internal as contended by its advocates. All that they really prove is that only *some* relations are internal to their terms. Thus the first argument for internal relations at its best proves that the relation of *difference* of one thing from other things is necessary for and internal to it. If the thing were not different from things other than itself, it would not be the thing it is. But even here it may be urged that a thing must have a positive nature of its own which distinguishes it from other different things. So mere difference cannot be said to constitute the entire being or nature of a thing. Even if this is not admitted, the fact remains that we cannot pass from the internality of the relation of difference to that of all other relations. The same thing may be said with regard to the relation of similarity. A thing's similarity to something is internal to it. But that does not mean that all of its relations must be internal. The second argument which, as we have seen, is employed by Bradley and Bosanquet, does not prove that all relations are internal. As Dr. Ewing says, 'we cannot pass from the fact that relations are true of their terms to the view that relations are internal in the full sense maintained by Bosanquet himself'.[1] All relations which are true of their terms are not indiscriminately internal in the sense that they affect their terms, only those which express their nature and behaviour may be said to be internal in this sense. The third argument also

[1] A. C. Ewing, *Idealism*, p. 145.

fails to prove the internality of all relations. For, to say that relations are partly determined by the natures of the terms is to say that they are not fully internal to them. Thus the spatial relation between two things is determined by their spatial characters in the sense that if the things were not spatial, there would be no spatial relation between them. But this does not determine the particular kind of spatial relation that may hold between them. That two things are spatial does not necessarily mean that one must be to the east or to the west of the other and not otherwise. Similar is the case with the causal argument for the internality of relations. If two things are causally related we know that they are related internally. But things have other relations than the causal, and we cannot pass from the internality of their causal relations to that of the other relations among them. Further, even if it be true that the law of causation is universal and that everything must be causally related to something, it does not follow that it must be so related to this or that particular thing. So from the general law that things are causally related we do not know all the relations of one particular thing to other particular things. In fact, one thing is causally related, not to one other particular thing, but to the whole system of things. The existence of a tree, for example, is causally determined not by the seed alone, but by the action of all the physical elements and, through them, by the whole system of things. Hence what the law of causation really proves is that everything is internally related to the whole system of things, and not that it is so related to any particular thing.

In the second place, we find that Dr. Moore and Mr. Russell oppose the theory of internal relations on some strong grounds. According to Dr. Moore, the theory that all relations are internal means that the terms which have a certain relation would be different if they had not had it. He thinks that what the advocates of the internal theory of relations meant could be put in the form: ' In the case of every relational property which a thing has, it is always true that the thing which has it would have been different if it had not had that property '; they sometimes say even: ' If P be a relational property and A a term which has it, then it is always true that A *would not have been* A if it had not had P '. If A is the father of B, then the characteristic of ' being father of B ' is a ' relational property ' of A. For example, Edward VII was the father of George V, and had thus the relational property of ' being father of George V '. This relational property is not itself a *relation* in the same fundamental sense in which the relation of fatherhood is so. Those who talk of all *relations* being internal, often actually mean by " relations " " relational properties ". Now if we say that 'A which has a relational property P, would

not have been A if it had not had P' we assert a self-contradictory proposition that 'if A had not had P, it would not have been true that A did not have P'. But what we say here may not imply this self-contradictory proposition. It may mean, as Dr. Moore himself admits, that 'if A has P, then anything which has not P is necessarily different from A'. Now what has not P may be different from A which has P, either numerically or qualitatively. That is, what has not P may be *another* A without the relational property P, or it may be something altogether different from A. Dr. Moore thinks that in many cases the absence of P entails neither numerical nor qualitative difference from A. If a coloured patch is partly red and partly yellow, we say that 'this whole patch contains this red patch'. Now any whole which does not contain this red patch would be different from the given whole. That particular given whole could not have existed without having that red patch for a part. But the red patch might perfectly well have existed without forming part of that particular whole. Thus we see that while a relational property like 'having *this* for a spatial part' is internal, no property of the form 'being a spatial part of this whole' is internal, but purely external. Similarly, if A is the father of B, A has the relational property of being father of B. But A might well have existed without having this property. In the case of many relational properties it is obvious that the things which have them as *a mere matter of fact* might well have existed without having them. So the conclusion to which we are led is that all relations are not internal as the theory of internal relations implies, but that some are purely external.[1]

Mr. Russell[2] also criticises the idealistic argument that if two terms have a certain relation, they cannot but have it, and if they did not have it they would be different. This argument, he points out, involves the fallacy of a vicious circle. The argument may be put thus: 'If A and B are related in a certain way, then anything not so related must be other than A and B; hence there must be something in them which is essential to their being related as they are.' But this only proves that what is not related as A and B are, must be numerically diverse from A or B, *i.e.* it must be numerically different from each of them. It may be some other A or some other B than the two which are related. The argument does not prove that it must be qualitatively different from A or B, *i.e.* it must have altogether different adjectives and cease to be A or B. This can be proved only if we assume the axiom of internal relations itself and say that what is not related as A and B are, cannot be A or B at all.

[1] *Vide* G. E. Moore, *Philosophical Studies*, pp. 281 f.
[2] Russell, *Philosophical Essays*, pp. 164 f.

Another important argument against the theory of internal relations has been put forward by Mr. Russell.[1] According to him, the theory leads to a rigid monism which is incompatible with all complexity in the world. If all things are internally related, they would be included as parts or aspects of one unitary whole. Now the relation between these parts and the whole being internal, it would be grounded in their natures. The parts would express the nature of the whole and the whole would express the nature of the parts. The parts by their very nature are related to the whole and the whole by its very nature would be related to the parts. So it is the same nature or reality that is expressed in the whole and its parts. We would thus have only one thing and one proposition attributing one predicate with regard to one subject. Even this one proposition will not be quite true, for it involves a distinction between the subject and the predicate. If the predicate be not distinct from the subject there would be no predication, not even a false one. But if the predicate be different from the subject, it cannot be predicated of the subject. So we shall have to suppose that predication does not involve the difference of the predicate from subject and that the one predicate is identical with the one subject. This means that reality is a pure identity having no difference or distinction in it. So there would be no difference and complexity anywhere in the world. But this is obviously contradicted by our experience of many objects in the world. Hence we must reject the theory of internal relations and admit that there are many real things in the world which are externally related to one another.

1. Russell, *Philosophical Essays*, pp. 168 f.

A NOTE ON POST-WAR PLANNING IN INDIA

MAJOR ALBERT MAYER, C.E.

[Albert Mayer, Architect and Town Planner of New York City, has designed and built communities in various parts of the United States; has been consultant to Government bodies such as New York State Division of Housing, New Haven Housing Authority, U.S. Housing Authority; Lecturer on Housing and Planning at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, New School for Social Research, Princeton University. At present he is attached to the Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army in Calcutta—*Editor, Calcutta Review.*]

THE topics which will be dealt with in this paper* are the following:—

The need for the designing and building technician in planning.

The relation of the technician to the plan, which must be an early and closely integrated relationship and not just an after-thought or decoration.

How to make adequate technicians.

How to convert a plan from paper to reality. Some mistakes to avoid.

But before going into these specific subjects, a few general observations should be made.

The first is that as *India is just now starting to plan, she ought to be able to make a better more effective plan than any other country has done, because she can start from the point which other countries have reached after years of painful pioneering and mistakes.* They say that history repeats itself and it does. The reason for it is that so few of us have taken the trouble to study and absorb history and profit by its mistakes. Similarly being human you will make the same mistakes that every one else has made in planning unless you study what those mistakes were and why they were made; also you can see what was meritorious and lasting and why it was so. I don't mean by this that you've got to make endless studies and researches which often lead into a maze of statistics and theoretic controversy and are often an excuse for inaction. But as you cannot carry out any plan before the war is over, you do have some time for such study.

The other point is that planning in India has got to be specific. The Bombay planners are probably right in restricting their preliminary statement to general terms, but to make the plan, or any plan, definite and feasible, it has quickly got to become more specific in several ways. In

* Paper read at a meeting of the *Sanibarer Baithak*, Calcutta.

the first place, particularly in a country as large and various as India, sub-plans have to be made for each region or province which your Bengal Committee has started to do, and in each city and locality. This is so for two reasons: the obvious reason is that each locality has different existing conditions and requirements and future possibilities: the other reason is that until you have definite local plans, actual blueprints for local work, your plan cannot be put into action. You can in a preliminary plan allow so many crores for housing and so many crores for roads and so many crores for schools. But you can't build just houses and roads and schools, you can't build them until you have blueprints showing where they go, what they're made of, what sizes they are, etc.

Another reason why plans have got to be specific is that they reflect back on the general plan. A general plan, say, will allow 100 sq. ft. per person in housing, and Rs. 400 for a house in rural areas, Rs. 800 for house in the city. A general plan, say, will allow X rupees for a dispensary and Y rupees for a hospital. But until you have some definite plans, until your medical Committee has said yes that's what we need, you don't know whether the cost are realistic or even approximately correct, and such differences if any may cumulatively become big enough to affect the figures for a general plan. The point is that you don't live or practise surgery or teach school in an abstraction called square feet, but in liveable houses, in workable schools and hospitals. This is not a criticism of the general plan which is a first step, but it is a plea which I would urge on you strongly, that the second step follow this first step quickly and be dovetailed with it.

Another reason for urging that the plan be made specific is that that is the way to create public understanding and interest. People in general do not react to overall items such as so many thousand crores for so many thousand miles of road or so much hospitalization. What does galvanize their interest is to know that the blind corner in the road, near their village where 4 people have been killed in the last year, will be made safe, or that the road into the next village which is now impassable in the monsoon, will be made an all-weather road.

The final reason for urging specific planning, as soon as possible, is this: lots of development will take place, plan or no plan. People especially as soon as the war is over, will build houses. Wealthy men will die and leave funds for new institutions. If there isn't an existing framework of reference, the new houses may go into unsuitable suburban areas where later a main traffic road must go through or where drainage is difficult or over-costly or impossible. This is, I assure you, not a hypothetical case. Or take another, even more usual situation. I need hardly tell you what

a flat country Bengal is. So what does anybody do who wants to build a house or a road or a Railway track above monsoon level? Well, he simply digs up some land nearby and creates another pool or tank and adds to the millions you already have. Aside of the malaria possibilities created, aside of the loss of top-soil, such tanks if not carefully located and restricted will make the future building of roads more difficult, expensive and more roundabout, longer. I say this from actual painful observation. But if there is a framework, a skeleton—and that is essentially what a plan is—and specially if it has legal force, such unnecessary mistakes will be avoided.

I think you will begin to see why I urge the inclusion of the designing and building technician early in your planning. As I understand it, you already have other experts active in the situation—economists, industrialists, agricultural men, etc. These men have got to furnish the basic facts and considerations, what might be called the bulk over all fundamentals. But to dissect these and put them into actual practical availability for use you've got to have the planning technician. Almost every aspect of your plans involves construction of houses, roads, schools, factories, hospitals, public buildings. It involves proper locations, with respect to geology, topography and drainage—and good drainage is the most difficult thing to get in this flat low-lying country with respect to traffic present and future, with respect to desirable traffic patterns; and it involves proper relations of location of the various types of activity in a growing community—business, industry, homes, recreation, railroads. Such design decisions affect liveability—the pleasure of living—as well as economy of capital cost and of operating cost, because trained design minimises what is called the friction of space.

Another set of things which must be looked into is how to build cheaply and well at the same time. It's no good building cheap houses that go to pieces or where you save money by bad building. The problem in every country is the same: to build cheaply and well. We need technicians for that.

There is another advantage if this kind of design ability is early incorporated in your planning discussions and planning. You will all agree that if your planning ever gets out of the paper stage and is actually carried out, you will sooner or later have to have actual building plans drawn and specifications written and structures built. But if you wait till later rather than sooner, if you then simply say to the architect or the engineer: we're ready to build now, now draw some plans, you will have lost the benefit of his participation, and of his viewpoint being able to absorb the discussions and the reasoning underlying the project you are giving him to

do. If you proceed that way, then your architects, engineers, town and rural planners will be doing single piecemeal work rather than creating the overall picture of life and activity which are the underlying reasons for planning at all.

You will be interested to know that in the United States, Great Britain, France and Germany before the Nazis, architects were among the leading pioneers in urging the need for town-planning and regional planning which is only a generation old even with us. They were and are in key positions in the actual planning. The reason why they were early leaders is simple: their own work convinced them that it was not possible to do the best individual work without a general framework, without some kind of orderly logical pattern. And some of us started to formulate our own patterns, usually in collaboration with other architects, with the co-operation of engineers and economists. You will find that the general planning in our country was greatly affected by these groups, and that specific plans later adopted in various towns and cities were based on these voluntary efforts.

Of course not every architect or engineer or planner has the necessary broad grasp that you require. From my interesting discussions with Mr. Sris Chatterjee, Architect, I am sure you have some, but probably nothing like enough. If I have convinced you that you need them, how will you get them? Well, I have seen the proposal of Mr. Chatterjee and his associates for establishing a *School of Indian Architecture and Regional Planning at the University of Calcutta. I have read the syllabus carefully and I can say to you sincerely that if you can possibly bring it about, you will have a school superior to anything in the western world, for the committee that formulated it evidently was using the best thought and developments* that we have painfully evolved by experience of years, and in various places. I feel deeply that *every possible effort should be exerted to make such a school a reality as quickly as possible.*

But we must not close our eyes to certain facts: the school even if authorized to-morrow, would take time to establish. It would take time to get an adequate faculty together—and however comprehensive a catalogue may be, A SCHOOL is no better than teachers who attempt to make the catalogue a living reality. Then after that, it is contemplated that it will take a minimum of 5 years to graduate. This is certainly none too long for the purpose, but it is much too long for the need if the plans are to be effectively drawn and then carried out. So while still urging on you the importance of such a school, I will suggest some other more immediate measures.

Foreigners. While the foreigner has the handicap of lacking intimate knowledge, local knowledge, insight into the details of a local culture,

I believe you will in any case need some of them. For there is a vast difference between large-scale thinking which you are thoroughly able to do, and large-scale planning-execution for which, in my observation, actual experience is absolutely indispensable. I believe you will in any case need such men for some years—as Russia did—in the larger planning elements and projects. The number, the type, the length of time you need them will depend on how many people you have, how many you develop and how quickly you develop them.

For this aspect I would like to make several suggestions. Start your school or some school, as quickly as you can, on a shorter term more modest basis, get enough money together for a few key faculty members. For necessary laboratories, use what you have in other schools, make arrangements to use industrial laboratories. Find out who there is in the visiting armies who have experience in these fields, and try to get them to give lectures. Gather together a talented enthusiastic student body of young men who have already had some architectural or engineering training and experience, and give them a year or two in the planning and other elements necessary. If they are working by day, and can't afford to quit their jobs, hold your courses at night. All this is makeshift it is true, but it can be done, can be done with comparatively little money and paraphernalia, and probably can be done quickly. In the early days of planning and housing in the United States that is exactly what we did. I may say I attach considerable importance to the possibility of foreign lecturers if they can be found, as they will give you the opportunity to compare standards and construction practices elsewhere with those in India. Possibly such schools—or more informally and accurately they might be called study groups—should be got going at several centres.

Another thing I would recommend is sending a group of young men again if possible those especially—for the immediate future—who have already had initial training—to study a year or two in other countries. Their time abroad should be spent not only in study at a University, but in observation of and participation in actual projects. If you can make any such arrangements, I believe that such groups before leaving should take a month or two here to be given a guide or orientation as to exactly what they are being sent out for, so that their time there will be most purposefully used.

Another group, if you can afford to send another group, should acquire training in actual large-scale construction. The armies here are using a large amount of mechanical equipment—bull-dozers, graders, rock-crushers, concrete mixers, with which I believe you have had little experience. Such equipment is indispensable to a large-scale program

of roads, of buildings, of river development and control. I think a good many Indian operators of such equipment are being developed in excellent British schools. But the technique of organizing the operations of such equipment efficiently and expeditiously on big operations is something quite different, and fully as important. In the end you will certainly have to use such equipment, and it may be you will have a lot of it left here, so that you will be able to make use of it sooner than would otherwise be possible.

The next topic I want to discuss is converting a plan from paper to reality. I said before that regional and city planning in my country was only a generation old. That is a fact with respect to realistic planning—in fact realistic planning resulting in execution is just only now getting into swing, and only partially. Planning as a concept is considerably older. But the great mistake of the older planning thinkers was that they were content with grandiose paper schemes, with committee meetings and papers which were duly filled in archives, where they probably still are. They considered these plans so logical and convincing that somehow they would execute themselves by intellectual pressure. This did not happen. It is not until the people themselves are brought in on the planning, understand what it's about, why it's necessary, what its advantages are, that the thing started to become realistic, actual. You will notice I say, started to become—because it's only now starting on any important scale. I believe you too will need to widen the base of understanding and participation. Planning isn't just all a pleasant enterprise. Sometimes it interferes with people's habits and prejudices. Unless they thoroughly grasp the need and superior advantages it affords, they will be indifferent or even unfriendly to it. For this reason, I believe local discussions with laymen as a continuing, fundamental part of the plan-making is vital. Public lectures and demonstrations, spreading understanding and realization of its importance even further among the people, should be part of planning technique. Another advantage of this sharing, is that the viewpoint of the people themselves can be reflected back into the plans of the planners. Of necessity the planners are experts or they couldn't make a sound plan. On the other hand, if your experts are like ours, a good part of their lives has been devoted to specialized study and has resulted in specialized experience, and it is invaluable to have this leavened by the ordinary experience of the ordinary people who are going to live in and work within these plans which we make. Also if the people aren't consulted, if they don't like the plan, they may in practice pay no attention to it, and it may be impossible to carry it out successfully.

The final topic in my talk tonight is on avoiding some mistakes. Of course neither you nor anybody else will avoid mistakes, especially because what is a mistake to one man may be merit in another man's eyes. I have little left to say on this point because most of the things I have already said bear on this as well. I have just two additional points to raise:

First, that planning should gather and use all available statistics, but not to overrate as planners tend to do. Statistics are the record of what has been and is, but may not, and often do not represent what is desirable. Be careful not to confuse the two. Also be careful to distinguish between statistical data and creative research.

Second, I have emphasized that a plan should be specific, but also it's got to be supple and flexible. No one can predict the details of life, of technology, even fifteen years ahead. Don't create a tight straight-jacket which cannot accommodate change. What you want to do is to create an envelope or a garment that can readily accommodate unexpected elements. You may not succeed in this, and you won't know till the future is here. But if you have that viewpoint, you will get nearer to it than you otherwise will. In my own country, some of the older city plans took the new automobile traffic very well, though they were developed before the automobile became the universal method of travel. Others failed badly.

The fact is that a plan is not static. It must be constantly reviewed, made to fit natural new situations, it must be progressive. Just as in the U.S.A. we have provided constitutional conventions every so often to adapt our government to changing conditions, You've got to do something similar with plans.

I hope I have not disappointed you by the narrow scope of my talk, which is a good deal more restricted than the title. But as I said; I know little about India's specific problems and conditions, and in addition I have the professional man's view that my main contribution to any situation lies in my particular knowledge and experience. You have all the necessary large ideas. Possibly I have been able to help you focus on the importance of certain aspects and certain details.

Discussion

Mr. J. C. Mukerjea, lately Chief Executive Officer to the Corporation of Calcutta, Mr. H. F. Glas, Austrian Architect, Mr. H. P. Bhaumik, formerly Electrical Engineer in Chief to the Government of Bengal, Dr. Savitri Devi (Greek) and others took part in a lively discussion which suggested that it was the immediate duty of every Indian University to

organize and function an University School of Indian Architecture and Planning that could bring about a consistent, all round, simultaneous development of all the aspects of Indian life and living besides training architect-planners to cope with the stupendous projects on planning and construction in Post War India. Mr. Mukerjea with all his accumulated experience of the conditions of urban and rural life of Calcutta and suburbs, explained the problems and difficulties that might confront the Post War planners of Bengal and their possible solution.

ACHARYA SIR PRAFULLACHANDRA RAY : THE TEACHER AND THE MAN

PROF. J. N. MUKHERJEE, C.B.E., D.Sc., F.N.I.

THE main facts of the life of Sir Prafullachandra Ray have been narrated in so many publications that I should avoid repeating them. Much material is contained in his own account of his life but more will come to light in course of time. The impressions, which we form of a great man, depend to a large extent on our points of contact with him and personal equations, but their dominant tone naturally reflects the chief traits of his character.

For the writer it is difficult to write of him without emotion and perhaps bias, now that he is no more with us. His spirit and work, however, live with us. It can truly be said of him that he multiplied himself through those who came in contact with him. He kindled a sacred light that has reproduced itself into myriads. It has caught on and will serve as a beacon to the present and succeeding generations.

Dr. Ray or later, Sir P. C. as he was referred to by those who had the good fortune to know him intimately. was essentially a loveable person of a peaceful and non-asserting temperament. But like all great men he had some very deep loyalties rooted in his character.

He used to say sometimes when too much pestered by demands on his generosity that he had adopted the life of a ' sannyasi ' and should not be bothered with worldly matters but his renunciation of the usual human life of enjoyment of power and pelf was in some respects nearer the view which Tagore has so beautifully expressed :

বৈরাগ্য সাধনে মুক্তি সে আমার নয়,
অসংখ্য বন্ধন মাঝে লভিব মুক্তির স্বাদ।

" That freedom from wordly ties which lies in the renunciation of life as usually lived by man is not for me; I shall taste this freedom in the innumerable bonds I create with this world." For him these bonds lay in the fostering care and interest he took in generations of young men, mostly his pupils ; the zeal with which he preached and practised his concepts of social and educational, economic and political progress of India and the many 'acts of individual and organised philanthropy which were so constant a feature of his long life. It is true that he lived the life of a recluse, but it will be wrong to suppose that he did not have deep affections or great delicacy of feeling. Rather his renunciation consisted

in creating deep attachments beyond the usual and narrow boundaries of common men.

Although Sir P. C. Ray rarely spoke about his mother it is possible that her influence on the first formative stages of his life was great. Perhaps his great steadiness of habits, sturdy common sense and a certain delicacy of feeling became ingrained in him quite early in his life and possibly under her influence. Of his father he would make, relatively speaking, more frequent mention. One could discern that, apart from some of his eccentricities, he bore himself in society as a man naturally accustomed to and fully acquainted with the social behaviour of the times. He was quite cognisant of its finer intricacies. He intensely disliked bad manners or bursts of temper in company. He had strong likes and dislikes, but his sense of courtesy mostly prevented him from giving expression to what he thought of others. He had a number of eccentricities which perhaps resulted from his being a confirmed dyspeptic, who had always to be on his guard to conserve to the utmost the time he was free from illnesses and his limited resources of physical energy in order to meet the multifarious demands he allowed on them.

Punctuality, regularity of habits, each thing in its proper place, each item of the day's work at its proper time, and a very keen aversion to waste in any form and to personal service were principles with him and he integrated these in his daily life. It is no exaggeration to say that he never departed from them. He would not hesitate to voice his disfavour in no uncertain terms to his pupils and others in whom he took an interest if he noticed any violation of these. Zeal for and devotion to work were the surest passport to his sympathy. He took pride in telling us that the chemist is the most patient and hardworking of all (sometimes adding, even the ass not excepted). He would tell us that the Goddess of Chemistry is a most exacting mistress and only by most persistent knocking at her door can one expect to get her favours. He correctly lived up to these principles and it is no wonder that young men touched by his deep sympathy for themselves could not help being influenced by the steadiness and regularity of his habits and his conception of devotion to duty. He would often refer to the letter Liebig wrote to Wöhler accusing the latter in a friendly and sympathetic way of *laissez faire*.

He was passionately attached to the cause of social reform. The removal of social inequalities and of early marriage were the main themes of his discourse. He was for a fuller development of the individual than what the time-old traditions would permit. He considered that social inequalities, early marriage and priesthood were the greatest " curses " which had weighed down the progress of Indians and would continue to

do so if not removed. His zeal for such reform was unbounded and he never ceased to preach them. It would, however, be wrong to assume that he was not for the conservation of the good points in our traditions, social behaviour and religious philosophy. Devotional songs appealed to him and he would quietly listen to them for hours. He did not stand for a summary dismissal of our own traditions; rather he definitely considered that each and every Indian should know India's literature, history, philosophy, achievements and traditions. He was out and out an Indian first in his outlook, thought and deed, but he believed with equal earnestness that we must assimilate without any mental reservation the good points in Western civilisation and where our traditions have to be discarded in the light of reason, this must be done without any regrets.

To him science and the methods of science constituted the great solvent which has been elevating and purifying human outlook on the phenomenal world by dissolving out, through their appeal to experiments and cold and dispassionate reason, the elements of magic and superstition. He had absolute faith in the power of science to ensure the social and material progress of India. Therefore it is not surprising that he became *the pioneer* amongst Indians in building up a school of scientific research and chemical industries.

One of the traits of his character, which was perhaps most appreciated by those who worked in his laboratories, was the freedom and help he gave to them to do the work they had chalked out for themselves, once he felt sure of their devotion to their work. In all institutions red tape has its uses and limitations. As the administrative head of the laboratories he understood that rules have to be observed but he would often wink at them. If anybody was engaged on a good piece of research, be it jointly with him or independently, every freedom would be allowed. Often conflicts arose with those of his colleagues placed by him in charge of administrative matters. It was characteristic of him to hear quietly the indictment of the culprit by his colleagues and the veiled and sometimes open hint that such incidents would not occur if his own sympathies were not so fully known. He would then plead for the culprit and try to appease his colleagues by saying that his conscience in this matter was in the keeping of the latter, but he would take the responsibility for the particular irregularity on his own shoulders.

Being very thrifty in his habits he could not bear the sight of waste of any kind, whether in the home or in the laboratory. A filter paper wasted through neglect or a gas or water tap run to waste was enough to excite him to quick admonition of the offender. He was almost parsimonious in matters of expenditure for his own comfort or costly

food. On one occasion a pupil and colleague of his purchased some fruits and, knowing that he liked them, offered some to him. He accepted them. The offer was repeated on several occasions and was accepted each time. However, on a subsequent date when Sir P. C. met him at the Science College he asked the younger man much to his surprise to close his eyes and smilingly put in the pocket of the latter a few rupees. He confessed that he would not have normally purchased those costly fruits but he must pay for them as they were being purchased for his use.

His ties with his family were kept up but they weakened towards the latter part of his life with the demise of older and dearer ones. He was attached to his elder brother and his wife and would go to Diamond Harbour Road in his "bandh gharry" to see them. His sister was married in Jorasanko and he would periodically look her up. From her he used to receive regularly various articles of food specially cooked to suit his taste. He was very fond of some of these. Some of the food-stuffs sent to him from his many friends and admirers would be preserved in special types of 'desiccators.' Often he would invite some of his pupils and distribute them.

Of his large circle of friends and admirers mention may be made of some of the more intimate ones. Between the late Mr. Gokhale, another great son of India, and himself there were deep ties of friendship, mutual understanding and respect. He was deeply attached to the family of late Sir J. C. Bose and Lady Bose. He considered the late Sir Nilratan Sircar to be one of his best friends and the conversation between them would often cover a wide range of subjects including family matters.

The method, by means of which he used to fulfil his various obligations, was to choose one person for a specific job and entrust him with full responsibility as his deputy. He used to call them his "conscience keepers."

His kindheartedness and eagerness to be useful to others often led him in to trouble and sometimes even got him into real difficulties. People are not wanting in any country who would try to use such men for their own purposes, good or bad.

In conclusion of this rapid and hence imperfect review of his personal behaviour reference will be made to one saying which he often repeated and was typical of Sir P. C. Ray, the teacher and the man :

অন্যত্র সর্ব্বত্র জয়মন্বিষ্যেৎ
পুত্রাৎ শিষ্যাৎ পরাজয়ম্।

"One should try to surpass all others in achievement, but the greatest pleasure consists in one's son or pupil excelling him."

Miscellany

BENOY SARKAR

SPENGLER'S RURAL SOUL

The peasants and artisans of villages do not happen to possess a charmingly romantic soul. Love or *ahimsa* (non-malice) is not its sole ingredient. Rural men and women are quite well up in family quarrels. The petty *himsas* (jealousies) between relatives grow into ruinous litigations. The cases are found to involve offences affecting not only property or reputation but also sexual irregularities. The envies and rivalries in public life are extensive and deep enough to engender regular feuds. Intrigues constitute the interactions between public and family interests. Brothers can be set against brothers, uncles against nephews, and, of course, neighbours against neighbours, on account of rural politics. The question of leadership in local affairs is mixed up with the tiniest incidents of the daily bazar. The landed-property-holder functions as the rural despot and furnishes the permanent background of the dehumanizing corruptions indulged in against one another by the other "village gods." The village soul does not differ from the town soul except, if at all, only in the form of manifestations and the magnitude of operations.

Spengler's position that "the peasant is historyless" is found to be unhistorical and untrue to positive reality. In *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*[1] the peasant is the eternal man, independent of every culture that ensconces itself in the cities. He precedes it, he outlives it, a dumb creature propagating himself from generation to generation, limited to soil-bound callings and aptitudes, a mystical soul, a dry shrewd understanding that sticks to practical matters, the origin and the ever-flowing source of the blood that makes world-history in the cities. It is rather incongruous to connect, as Spengler does, "a mystical soul" with "a dry shrewd understanding that sticks to practical matters," as well as with "soil-bound callings and aptitudes."

The most unreal thing about this thesis is that Spengler ignores that the city is likewise the "origin and the ever-flowing source of the blood" that makes the peasant, his farm and his village. No town, small, middling, large or metropolitan, is complete without its reactions on the village which is supposed to be its source. The circulation, economic, political, cultural, moral, and spiritual between the town and the village is a more or less complete phenomenon to be envisaged in every culture, whether early, late or decadent. But Spengler's thesis, wedded as it is to the eternal antithesis, takes no cognizance of this circulation. "If the Early period is characterized," says he, "by the birth of the city out of the country and the Late by the battle between city and country, the period of civilization (*i e.*, of decadence in Spengler's sense) is that of the victory of the city over country, whereby it frees self from the grip of the ground, but to its own ultimate ruin." Objectively speaking, every student of adult-capitalism or hyper-urbanism and super-industrialism is aware that the attempts and the successes of the "megalopolis," the "cosmopolis" or the mammoth city (*la grande ville, die Grosstadt*) to come into contact[2] with the "ground" and the "country" or the village are constantly in evidence in diverse forms.

1 *The Decline of the West*, Vol II (London, 1928), pp. 96, 107.
2 "The Folk Society and Culture" (*American Journal of Sociology*), March, 1940.

Its attempts "to free itself from the grip of the ground" are more poetic visions than factual realities as known to the economist or the historian.

The "peasant society" or "folk society" is described by Redfield as an "intermediate societal type" lying between the dichotomies, primitive and urban. There is no harm in contributing a new "category" to the fund of sociological analysis. It will be always necessary to be careful and objective about the "contents," meanings or values to be given to the categories, old or new. By way of illustration we may remark that the French peasant's body, mind and soul as depicted in the *Tale of Two Cities* by Dickens can hardly inspire anybody to accept the Spenglerian concept of the farmer-village or rural-peasant complex as something superior to the capitalist-town or urban-industrial pattern in spirituality, humanity or felicity. In Lal Behari Day's *Bengal Peasant Life* (c. 1875), again, the "peasant society" or "folk-society" is not always quite enviable on any count.

VILLAGE "COMMUNITY" AND TOWN "SOCIETY"

The milk of human kindness does not flow more frequently in the interactions of the village "community" than in those of the town "society." The relations between relatives or neighbours are not more heavenly in rural areas than in urban. Heartlessness and cruelty are not less vivid in the peasant complex than in the industrial. The burial or cremation of a person dying from a fell disease does not evoke greater co-operation or sympathy among the rural cultivators than among the townsfolk. "The slow and subtle robberies" by which, as Proudhon says in *Qu'est-ce que la propriété ?* property is acquired are not more in evidence in towns than in villages. A man with new and non-popular or untried ideas is hanged, drawn and quartered as often and as miserably by the comrades and neighbours of the rural world as by the colleagues in a metropolitan institution. The poor and the pariah, the lower orders and the inferior classes, as well as the individuals in subordinate position are compelled to deliver their women to the higher, the richer, the superior, the more elevated, and the more leading in the villages on the same occasions and under the same circumstances as their similars or equals in the towns. The manifestations and embodiments of the uglier and "pathological" aspects of the instincts of *kama* (sex), *kanchana* (wealth), *kirti* (domination), and *karma* (creativity) do not differ in kind between the two orders of human settlements. The "world, the flesh and the devil" complex is as operative in the rural personality as in the urban, in the farmer-complex as in the merchant-complex.

None of these vices, sins, crimes, shortcomings or defects of the rural folks can be often described as the results of contact, direct or indirect, with the townspeople. Nor can they be always regarded as due to the impacts of general industrialization or capitalistic economy. These phenomena are very often independent of urbanism and industrialism or modernism. If *Wesenswille*, natural will, naturalness, etc., as interpreted by Toennies in *Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft* (Community and Society), be the special feature of villages then that naturalness comprises all these vices and crimes or shortcomings as a matter of course. The culture associated with the *Kürwille*, chosen will or contract, of towns and cities does not exhibit any vices, sins or shortcomings of a different character. The equalization between the village and the town is a reality as much as the co-existence of *Wesenswille* and *Kürwille*.

The above statements should not mislead one into the belief that villages are but the asyla of knaves, rascals and scoundrels. Nor is it to be implied that saints and sages have their headquarters in urban areas. Nothing more is meant than that the conventional idea about villages being the foster-grounds of morality, virtue and idealism is untenable. It is likewise understood that towns are not the centres exclusively of sin, immorality and criminality.

THE SOCIO-MORAL MILIEU OF VAISHNAVA FOLK-POETRY

The so-called higher castes and superior classes are not immune to the alleged looseness of morals that is said to characterize the lower birth-orders or income groups of the population, *i.e.*, those classes generally that may be described as rural. The equalization, identity and continuity of sins, vices, immoralities and crimes of all denominations between the illiterates and the school-going, *i.e.*, the so-called educated or cultured are *faits sociaux*. The sex-morality of the *jhumur* (tinkling) dancers in the villages of West Bengal, who play the love-stories of Radha and Krishna, is organically linked up with that of lawyers, medical practitioners, authors, school masters, journalists, Congress workers, trade unionists and other leaders of society who, as *élites*, sit in judgment on the former.

The inspirer of the famous Bengali poet, Chandidasa (c. 1350) of Birbhum in West Bengal, who belonged to the Brahman caste, was the low-caste woman Rami, the "Rajakini." She was a *dhobi* (laundry-woman). The songs for which he derived this inspiration are those in honour of Radha and Krishna. Chandidasa's songs are known to have been popular with the saint-prophet, Chaitanya (1485-1554). Many *jhumur* dance-songs of today have Radha and Krishna as heroine and hero. In them women play a leading rôle and caste distinctions between players are unknown. These may be traced back to Chandidasa, who represented perhaps the traditions of Bengali sex-*mores* in literature and social relations. Contacts between the alleged higher castes and the Haris, Doms, Chamars, etc., on the one hand, and the more or less unhindered *liaisons* between men and women were as common in the medieval conditions of peasant life and ruralism as under modern urbanism and industrialism. Chandidasa was not a solitary figure in this particular type of social and aesthetic norms in the Indian Middle Age, for all that we know.

Radha and Krishna are certainly hallowed personalities in the Vaishnava cult and general Indian tradition. But these names, by themselves, should not prevent one from visualizing the much-too palpably sensuous and often directly sensual items that characterize the folk-songs and *belles lettres* of today. The same remarks apply to many of the verses in the Vaishnava *Padavali*, *Krishna-Kirtan*, etc., of yesterday. Those who object to the *Vidya-Sundara* of the late eighteenth century on moralistic grounds should have to expunge a great deal of the medieval and modern Radha-Krishna literature. In my *Love in Hindu Literature* (Tokyo, 1916 the Radha-Krishna love-poetry of Vidyapati (c. 1450) has been assessed as being in the main sexual. Instances of genuine spirituality of a non-carnal character are few and far between. Exceptions need not be ignored. But generally speaking, in the psycho-social *Gestalt* there is hardly any doubt about the two equations, (1) Radha = Vidya, and (2) Krishna = Sundara. In morals, manners and sentiments there is very often scarcely any thing to chose between the Radha of folk-poetry, old and new, and the Vidya of that infamous work. All belong to one socio-moral *milieu*.

It is not necessary to be a cynic and indulge in prudery or affect a moral superiority which cannot be proven. The study of interhuman relations has need to be objective and dispassionate. As long as the "upper ten thousands" and "higher intellectuals" take delight in the sex-songs generally associated with the Vaishnava complex, their spiritual kinship with the alleged uneducated or uncultured and aboriginals, lower classes, untouchables, etc., is a patent reality of the moral pattern.

Round the World

German Generals—

The recent attempt on the life of Adolf Hitler and the alarums connected with this incident have shown the world the antipathy amounting to antagonism which exists between certain sections of the "Wehrmacht" and the Nazi Party. Feelings have been acerbated—high-ranking German officers have been called opprobiously "a clique of mad generals" by spokesmen of the Nazi Party. Field-Marshal Göering referred in a speech to "generals who had to be chased from their posts." It has been suggested that the malcontents include Field Marshals von Rundstedt, von Brauchitsh, von Bock, von Leeb, von Manstein and von Kleist and General von Falkenhausen. Even the credentials of Field Marshal Keitel are now suspect.

German Generals have often interested themselves in politics. We may cite here a few celebrated examples. Albrecht von Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland, a famous leader of the Thirty Years' War of the 17th century, gained large estates and great wealth through his considerable political acumen. He always worked hard to assure his own advantages. He was a specialist in what is known as "*ruses de guerre*," *i.e.*, to open secret negotiations with the enemy while war is yet going on. In the early 19th century (1835-1839), Count von Moltke went to Turkey as military adviser to Sultan Mahmud. He reorganised the Ottoman Army. F. M. von der Golz Pasha also took a share in pre-1914 European politics by conducting military missions to Turkey and the Balkans. General von Epp, still living, is a relic of World War No. 1. He was attached to Enver Pasha's staff as a quasi-political adviser in the last war and was a firm upholder of the *Drang nach Osten* (Push towards the East) policy of German statesmen, which is apparent in the title of a remarkable book on foreign affairs—"*Vom Mittelmeer Zum Persischen Golf*" (From the Mediteranean Sea to the Persian Gulf")—which he wrote. Also in our own times, F.M. von Ludendorff—mystic, dabbler in Astrology, intriguer and one of Hitler's earliest supporters was not only an expert in army manoeuvers, but was equally an adept in political coup-d'états. Some have over-rated him as man of great intelligence, while others—like the late Atatürk—underrated him as a mere visionary and dilettante. Ludendorff was a dangerous man, possessing inordinate ambition, a type of German general who takes to politics after the manner born.

Many generals also turned to politics after World War No. 1 because they were disillusioned. The "Watch on the Rhine" had proved unavailing. The Rhineland had been occupied by foreign troops. From that day the German generals naturally lived on what Marshal Foch had once termed *La Revanche* (Revenge).

In the early part of World War No. 2 the "La Revanche" idea was almost fulfilled; now, however, after many bitter disillusionments, the generals of the "Wehrmacht" see the chances of victory slipping away; perhaps, out of their ranks may yet come a Hindenburg, who would lead the soldiers home in orderly retreat.

Czechoslovakia: Bohemian Fact and Fancy—

The Czechs are the most westerly branch of the great Slavonic family of races. Their land—Bohemia—is surrounded on all sides by mountains. It is a country of innumerable small lakes, large forests and fertile plains. Its two great rivers are the Elbe and the Moldau, the latter—the national river of the

Czechs—has been mentioned in song and legend. The country is rich in natural resources. It grows grain, flax, fruits and the best hops in Europe, which accounts for the excellence of Czech beer. The raising of sheep, horses, swine, and poultry is carried on to a considerable extent. The mines yield various minerals among which silver, copper, lead, tin, coal, iron, tungsten, sulphur and vitriol may be mentioned.

Thus Bohemia, blessed with natural resources and a thrifty and industrious population, has had an illustrious history from very early times. Since the second half of the 6th Century A. D. the Czechs have inhabited Bohemia. They are mentioned for the first time as Czechs by the Medieval Russian Chronicler Nestor. Throughout history, the Czechs have tried to preserve their autonomy. Attempts to conquer the country in the past have generally always met with failure. Even Charlemagne's conquest of Bohemia was superficial in its results, although for a time he succeeded in rendering it tributary.

The Czechs, separated from Germany by a rampart of mountains, by origin, language and national customs, have nevertheless had a long and memorable connection with the Germans. Their monarchs received investiture from the German Emperor, held one of the great offices in the imperial court, and were recognised as among the seven electors of the empire. On the whole, however, the Czechs kept aloof from the general politics of the Empire, waxed powerful under their national rulers and were soon to extend their territories. Under their great king—Ottokar II (1253-1278 A. D.), they extended their sway almost from the Adriatic to the Baltic. They were to lose their conquests later to the all too suceessful Rudolph, founder of the House of Hapsburg. Under Charles IV (1346-1378), who also held the sceptre of the German Empire, Bohemia prospered, and advanced in civilisation and science. The Czechs have always clung tenaciously to whatever has been their ideal of the moment and they know how to fight for their ideas. We may cite as examples the Martyr Huss, who strove for a reformed Church and Ziska, the military leader of the Hussites. In 1527, Bohemia lost its separate political existence and became a part of the Austrian Empire. In 1848, when Europe was convulsed with revolutionary movements, the Czechs revolted against the Austrian dominion, but their attempts proved abortive and they remained a part of the Austrian Empire till the Treaty of Versailles sounded the death-knell of the central Empires, and new frontiers came into being.

After the last World War, the state of Czechoslovakia composed of the heterogeneous social elements of Czechs, Slovaks, Moravians, Sudeten Germans, Ruthenians and Carpatho-Ukrainians, came into existence. The Czechs have treated their minorities too well. The Ruthenians and Carpatho-Ukrainians were forced to learn the Czech language and conform to Czech culture, their own cultures remaining entirely unrecognised and their languages untaught to their children even in the primary schools. The Sudeten Germans were also treated unfairly and unfortunately for Czechoslovakia this led in the long run to Nazi interference, intervention and conquest. Thus the state created with so much labour and so much love by Masaryk and his son-in-law Dr. Benes was in many ways an artificial creation. Certain aspects of the situation of this state gave rise to the uncomfortable feeling in the minds of the Germans that not only could their road of commerce to the Danubian countries and the Balkans be blocked at any moment but also that they were being encircled, Czchoslovakia being merely the tool of other Powers. In these fears of the Germans lay the source of future conflict and the future sorrows of the Czech nation.

After the fall of Czechoslovakia, when the Czechoslovak Government went into exile, Dr. Benes followed it. He is not the *de jure* President of Czechoslovakia, having resigned from that office in 1938. There are several other anomalies connected with the emigre Czechoslovak Government and with the position of Dr. Benes. Unlike the Polish, the Yugoslav and the other Allied

Governments in exile, the Czechoslovak Government has no constitutional status. Within Czechoslovakia itself Dr. Emil Hacha succeeded Dr. Benes as President, though not as President of the Republic, but of the *Protektorat*. He is a tool of the Germans, but he does enjoy a modicum of popular support. It seems that he was constitutionally elected, since on November 10th, 1938, Dr. Benes himself wrote to him from London, recognising his Presidency and wishing him well. Slovakia has been a separate state since March 14th, 1939 and has been recognised as such not only by Germany, Yagoslavia, Hungary, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey and the Vatican, but also by Russia. A Russian Legation, with a large personnel, was establised at Bratislava, the Slovak Capital, and a Slovak Legation was established in Moscow. Thus there are two constitutional Governments in the present Czechoslovak Territory—that of Hacha in the *Protektorat* and that of Tiso in Slovakia. The emigré Czechoslovak Government could only be established in its own country by a revolution, and this is what Dr. Benes intends : but to achieve that it will be necessary to have popular support within Czechoslovakia for Dr. Benes and the exiled Czechoslovak Government. It is very difficult to say what actual support Dr. Benes has in his own country. In Slovakia at any rate he has very little influence. The Slovaks want either home rule in a Czechoslovakian Federal Republic or complete independence. In Bohemia and Moravia Dr. Hacha has popular support and there Dr. Benes will have to compete with him. The Roman Catholics, the Czech Youth League, which has about 400,000 members, as well as other elements are against Dr. Benes and his Russophile policy. They emphasise that as he is no longer the de jure President of Czechoslovakia, the Russian Czechoslovak Treaty of the 12th of December, 1943, negotiated by him, is not legally binding. The League of Czech Youth condemned 'the efforts of the Czech emigration to sacrifice the fate of the Czech nation to the disintegrating forces of Bolshevism.'

Bohemia has fallen from her great position which she occupied in the History of Europe. As part of the artificial creation " Czechoslovakia," she lacked an internal cohesion. Her present situation is scarcely more dignified than that of any Balkan State. Dr. Benes' treatment of the minorities when he was in power in Czechoslovakia helped the sun to set over Bohemia ; his present activities are not calculated so much to resurrect the country as to plunge it into civil war and discord by fomenting revolution.

France and the Levant—

The French very logically divide their colonies into two groups : (*a*) colonie d'exploitation, (*b*) colonie de peuplement. Syria, since 1920, has fallen into the first category. The material result has been that of division and denationalisation and the psychological result has been 'slave mentality'.

In 1920, General Gouraud gave an ultimatum to the newly formed Arab State under the Emir Feisal. The French were obsessed by the fear of Arab unity. Their task was to keep the Arab World divided. The Arabs were defeated in the Battle of Wady Souq Barada and Emir Feisal had to evacuate Syria. From that date started the cultural and political pacification of Syria. The day General Gouraud established the Service des Antiquites under its first Director Monsieur Deschamps, he also conferred with his Chef de Bureau about the partitioning of Syria into several autonomous enclaves or states. Indeed in the Lebanon, there was already a plan afoot to give the North to the Maronites and the South to the Druses. Southern Syria was formed into a separate enclave: Djebel Druze—the Hauran being converted into a military zone, under General Huntziger. Latakia was made into a separate state and a special Protocol Office under a Kaimakam established there. Even the Yezidis of the Djebel Sindjar, who worship the devil in the shape of a peacock—formed an enclave.

The Alawites, an extreme Shiite sect formed an enclave in the Plain of the Daphné (one of the most fertile plains in Syria with running water and fruit-trees), at the foot of Mount Silpius, the highest peak of the Kosseïr Dagh,—near Antioch. The Alawites represent the poorest peasantry in Syria. As regards population,—they represent the second most numerous racial group in the District of Antioch, the Turks being the first. To them is applied the term 'Fellahin' in contempt. Antioch is the only place in the Near East where the term 'Fellapin' or peasan is a term of contempt. Without capital, the Alawite is at the mercy of the townsmen, without instruction he is at the mercy of the greedy officials and is well-nigh submerged under administrative exactions.

As a contrast to the poverty-stricken Alawite, we have the affluent Maronites, the richest Christian Sect in ths Levant and the protégis of the French. In the Middle Ages, they were not Latin Catholics and even in the 18th Century their Catholicism was suspect, consequently they did a lot of propaganda to prove that they were Catholics. Even in the last century, they appealed to the French as fellow-Catholics. The only really thriving industry in the Lebanon (*viz.*, the tourist and hotel industry) is run by them, sometimes in conjunction with the Armenians. Even the Maronite clergy participate in business. The richest hotel in the Lebanon—that of 'Les Cedres' in the locality known as the 'Cedres de Lebanon' is managed by the Maronite Archbishop or Patriarch. A whole quarter in the town of Beyrouth is owned by them. It is the richest quarter of Beyrouth and has the best ground-rents. The Máronite families thrive on ground-rents and constitute a super-rentier class. They possess the richest village in the Lebanon—that of Ain Sofar, in the Libanus Range—on the motor-road from Beyrouth to Damascus. Only Maronites are allowed to build houses in Ain Sofar. They form an autonomous community. The French have thus encouraged separatism, as it has suited their purpose to do so. Of course, they call it themselves by the altruistic term: "protecting the interests of the minorities," "We owe a duty to the minorities," "We have a "mission civilisatrise," although the so-called minorities themselves have re-iterated their desire for an independent Arab State. Even the Druses showed a very truculent attitude towards the French. The French Regime has never been popular in Syria. In 1925, there was a mass revolt in Damascus and the French had to bombard Damascus. The results of this bombardment can be seen to-day, round the place Merjé, near the Souq el Hamidiyé. In 1938, again, there was a revolt, Damascus again being the centre. All the time Syria was being divided into smaller bits—a portion of Syria was added to the Lebanon, haphazardly. These enclaves are under the administration of Kaimakams. Syria is a Republic. Lebanon (Grand-Liban) is also a republic. There is a majority of Christians in the Lebanon. They had ministerial councils,—but their power was very limited. The Haut-Commissariat (sometimes called by the older name: The Consulat de France) is the real ruler, not the Petit—Serail (Kutchuk Saraglio). The High-Commissioner was virtually a dictator, he ruled by Ordinances or Azrétés. Corruption and back-stairs intrigues are rife in the Serail. Faction-struggles took up a good deal of the time of ministers. The Minister of Agriculture Haider Bey, nicknamed 'Minister of Hashish,' was an able participant in the drug traffic and divided his spoils equally with Colombani, the Corsican Chief of Police. Government officials were notorious for their administrative malpractices—such as trafficking in passports and visas, receiving bribes from contractors and so forth. It was, indeed, a very demoralising atmosphere.

Lebanon is a very poor country, so is Syria. The peasantry subsists on a very poor diet and lives on the verge of starvation. The Bourgeoisie is discontented, especially the Petit Bourgoisie. *Their youth received an education out of all proportion to their future expectations:* thus the class of 'lumpen-intelligentsia' is created. They are naturally discontented. Some of them become active members of the Communist Party. Others drift into petty clerical jobs. They could not start industrial organisations, since the French did

not allow the Syrians to start factories. All the same, a small community of finance-capitalists flourish,—thriving on ground-rents and speculating in buildings. Of recent years many American-looking flats (up-to-date and fitted with radiators and all the latest sanitary conveniences) have been erected in Beyrouth and Damascus. The most modern flats in Damascus are the Kasm and Karabany Buildings.

The Syrians and the Lebanese have a long tradition of patriotism. In fact the Arab National Movement had its rise in the intellectual 'milieu' of early 19th Century Beyrouth, under the leadership of Butrus Bustani and Sheikh Ibrahim al Yazeji, both Lebanese Christians. The Arab Christians of the Lebanon have always been as patriotic as the Arab Moslems. Syrian Arabs and Syrian Christians share an equal dislike of the French Administration: this was evident in the revolt for independence led by deputies and ministers in the Lebanon and Syria a few months back. The French had to give in, albeit with an illgrace, to the indigenous demand for a large share of independence. The French, however, still remained behind the senses. That they have again manipulated the worn out strings, which still remain in their hands, is evident from the recent re-shufflings of the Riad el Solh Cabinet. It will be difficult for the Syrians and the Lebanese to overcome French intrigues almost at once: these are far too deep-seated. They can derive comfort, however, from the moral support of the rest of the Arab World.

Bengal: Communalism in Public Services—

In England, it was found through long experience that competitive examinations for entry into the various Government services ensured efficiency in administration as far as it was humanly possible; for the officials were selected people with a certain level of intellectual attainments; furthermore, competitive examinations encouraged administrative integrity and impartiality.

The experience of Great Britain was tried in the case of India and one has to admit that the system has worked fairly well here. Unfortunately, such factors as the communal electorate and the communal ratio have tended to vitiate the system of competitive examinations and selection for the public services. Questions in the local legislatures have revealed that this year out of 8 posts in the senior services only 1 has been given to a caste Hindu, whilst 5 have been given to Muslims and 2 to Scheduled Caste candidates. Under the present régime, 7 senior posts in the civil services have gone to Muslims, 2 to Scheduled Castes and only 2 to Caste Hindus. Last year 16 out of 23 judicial posts went to Muslims *i.e.*, 70% of the total vacancies. During the last two years 4 appointments in the Bengal Police service have gone to Muslims. These examples show that the communal ratio is not being strictly observed. In Bengal allocation of services is made after the results of the competitive examinations are published. This is an anomaly. A different state of affairs prevails in the Central Government and Bengal would do well to follow its example in this respect.

The Communal Ratio is being worked to the detriment of Caste Hindus, who have undergone sacrifices in the past to achieve success in the competitive examinations. In the early days of the Indian Civil Service examinations, Caste Hindus braved the anathemas and interdicts of Orthodoxy to go and study abroad. If Public Administration instead of being based on personal merit and efficiency becomes merely the tool of sectarian prejudices, then the country is bound to suffer in the long run from maladministration, injustice and eventual chaos.

Archaeological Research in India—

Unlike the Geological Survey of India, which was created in 1851, the Archaeological Department of the Government of India is really a recent creation,

constituted under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of Lord Curzon. Sporadic archaeological work however had been done in India before the 20th century by pioneers like Cunningham, who had written monographs mostly of a topographical nature on Bhilsa, Sanchi and other localities. After Lord Curzon's time, the Archaeological Department under the able guidance of Sir John Marshall undertook the excavation of important sites. Taxila, Harappa, Mohenjo-Daro, Sarnath, Nalanda bear witness to the vigorous spirit of scientific research embodied in the work of such archaeologists as N. G. Majumdar, Rakhal Das Banerji and Hargreaves. The importance of sites like Mohenjo-Daro for the true appreciation of the cultural, political and commercial relations between Proto-Historic India and her neighbours of the West—Sumer, Akkad, Babylon—is apparent.

The need for a training centre for archaeologists in the latest methods of scientific field work has long been felt. The new Director-General of Archaeology in India, Dr. Mortimer Wheeler, is going to start immediately a School of Field Archaeology at Taxila, near Rawalpindi. The school will be a training centre for students from various universities in scientific methods of excavation. We may rest assured that Dr. Wheeler's School of Field Archaeology will give a great impetus to Archaeological research in India.

S. K. C.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Unabingsha Shatabdir Bangla (in Bengali).—By Sree Jogesh Chandra Bagal. Published by Ranjan Publishing House, 25/2 Mohanbagan Row, Calcutta. Pp. x + 239. Price Rs. 2.

The Preface is written by Mr. Sajani Kanta Das, the well-known Bengali scholar and Editor of *Sanibarer Chithi*, and the book is dedicated to Srijukta Brajendra Nath Bandyopadhayay, so well thought of for his valuable researches in the literary and historical fields of Bengal. In the Preface, the author tells his readers how he had heard of the profound scholarship of Srijukta Brajendra Nath when a student and admired him from a distance as also how he had come into touch with him soon after he had started life.

Fired by the enthusiasm generated by intimate contact with one whom he considers his master, Mr. Bagal started his researches in the history of Bengali life and literature of the first half of the 19th century about 1929 and, as he slowly gathered his materials from old and forgotten periodicals, unpublished official papers and statements and the records of old and eminent Bengali families, he utilised them for various contributions in English and Bengali which appeared from time to time in "Modern Review," "Prabasi," "Bharatvarsa," "Pravartak," 'Bangashri," etc. Some of these, after necessary additions and alterations, due to the incorporation of fresh materials, appear here in the form of biographical sketches of seven outstanding leaders of thought and sponsors of various private and public activities, all the products of the ferment caused by the introduction of English education in Bengal in that age.

Apart from the biographical interest these sketches possess, they are significant as revealing the emergence of modern Bengali culture and literature through the impact of Western thought on our old ways of living and thinking. They also clearly reveal the new life and energy derived by these men from these new forces and the different channels through which they found expression.

Among the people dealt with, we have an Englishman, a Parsi, an Anglo-Indian and four Bengalis, clear proof of the part taken by people of various races, communities and religions in the Bengali Renaissance of the early 19th century. The prominent part played by David Hare and Derozio shows what influence English education as imparted by these men had in shaping the lives and thoughts of the Bengalis of these days, while the account given of Rustomji Cowasji proves that in those days difference of race and religion was no bar to the closest co-operation between Indians for carryng on activities for the benefit of all.

Among the four Bengalis is one, who retained his extremely conservative outlook up to the very end of his life but who, in spite of it, yielded to the new vivifying influence, another, who welcomed everything Western, good, bad or indifferent, and two who, while gladly accepting Western education and culture, were wise enough to make necessary adjustments.

It is true enough that part of the ground traversed by Mr. Bagal has been covered by previous writers, some of whom were closer in point of time to these personages. But relying as they did partly on their memory and partly on hearsay, they have, now and again, been guilty of inaccuracies. Mr. Bagal, like the student he is, has scrutinised these accounts and pointed out the mistakes, in every case quoting chapter and verse for his views.

It is with some difficulty that the reviewer resists the temptation of dealing with the biographical sketches individually. He will merely content himself with saying that if their writer is to be congratulated for his unexampled industry

and the soundness of his scholarship, credit is due to his master, Srijut Brajendra Nath, who put him in the way by his pioneering research work in this direction. It is, however, a fact that the work of the pupil has supplemented that of his master, filling up a gap, which many have long desired to see bridged. Praise must also be given to Mr. Sajani Kanta Das, who induced the author to publish the book under review, thus maintaining the great reputation he has already achieved in our province for picking out the most promising among young writers and encouraging them in various ways.

When the all-India history of Indian cultural life comes to be written, it would not be easy to do justice to the part played in it by Bengal without acknowledging indebtedness to the valuable researches carried on by Messrs. Bannerjee and Bagal.

Burma (Oxford Pamphlet on Indian Affairs No. 17),—By Ma Mya. Sein. Pp. 32. Price Annas Six only.

This small and informative pamphlet gives a bird's eye view of Burma. The last few pages dealing with the causes of Indo-Burmese riots, the indifference of Burmans to the claims of the British administration, to their loyalty and its future after the expulsion of the Japanese are interestingly written.

How to Secure Indian Independence.—By "Sutlej." Published by the Oxford University Press. Pp. 22. Price Annas Eight only.

The non-party author writing under the *non-de-plumè* "Sutlej" starts by showing that India can have only one political goal—complete independence to secure which an understanding between the Congress and the Muslim League is essential, the importance of both of which he emphasises. As a realist, "Sutlej" recognises that the demand for Pakisthan has to be granted though he believes that political and economic forces must in time unite it and Hindusthan under a federal system of Government. He has his solution of the problem created by the existence of the Indian States, which too he maintains will in time be willing to unite with one or other of these two sovereign States. His view is that while Hindusthan and Pakisthan will become republics, the Indian States will gradually be changed into constitutional monarchies. The remarks of "Sutlej" as regards the influence exercised by these in order to bring about an all-India unity are both original and striking.

This thought-provoking book should interest every one who realises the necessity of ending the existing deadlock for the future constitutional develoment of India as an independent sovereign State.

The Way Out.—By C. Rajagopalachari. Published by the Oxford University Press. Pp. 32. Price Annas Eight only.

That Mr. Rajagopalachari is a realist in politics is abundantly clear from this booklet in which he urges India not to view with suspicion the British offer conveyed to India through Sir Stafford Cripps. His analysis of its clauses and the clearness with which he argues his case are striking but as he himself says,

"Emotion is stronger than intellect and decides the issue when any doubt exists."

The Congress Case.—By Jag Parvesh Chander. Published by the Free India Publications, The Mall, Lahore. Pp. 121. Price Rs. 3.

The book opens with an introduction and three letters of which the first written in confinement by Lord Arthur Capel is addressed to Mr. Churchill. This lays bare the mistaken policy adopted towards India by Britain under his leadership. The second addressed to Roosevelt, presumably by the author, shows the inconsistency of the American attitude in guaranteeing the four freedoms to European countries under Nazi domination while denying them to India. The third appeals to Mr. Jinnah to rise above group interests and

to once more give India the type of leadership which induced the Congress to give his name to the magnificent hall built to accommodate public meetings summoned by it.

The book itself is divided into twenty-four sections and is abundantly documented. The evidence gathered here from various sources makes it absolutely clear that the two charges laid against the Congress and specially against our great national leader that they are pro-Nazi and that they are responsible for the troubles which broke out in August, 1942, are not borne out by actual facts.

The writer deserves the thanks of his readers for the very clear way in which he has marshalled his facts.

Whose Freedom ?—Published by the International Book House, Ltd., Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay. Pp. 61.

This small and valuable booklet consists of very carefully selected quotations from some of the most vital pronouncements of great writers, living and dead, on the problem of freedom in all its aspects and the necessity of its enjoyment by all races in all countries. Among the writers laid under contribution may be mentioned Pearl Buck, Madame Chiang Kai-Shek, Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi, Lin Yutang, Bertrand Russel, John Gunther, etc. As a handy symposium of the views of these eminent personages on a matter in which India is fundamentally interested, this book should command the attention of all.

Chiang Kai-Shek—Abul Kalam Azad—Dr. Benes.—By different writers. Published by the Free India Publications, Lahore, Each priced at Annas Four.

These are short accounts of the principal events in the lives of these great national leaders and provide interesting reading matter.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Spinozian Wisdom.—By James Arthur. Published by the Adyar Library, Madras. Pp. xix+108. Price Rs. 2-12-0.

The philosophy of Benedict Spinoza (1632-1677) is one of the most important systems of Western thought. But its recognition among Western thinkers is rather slow and late. Spinoza's thoughts were more appreciated by subsequent thinkers, the more they were removed from them in time. Matthew Arnold in his tribute to Spinoza remarks: "Spinoza died at the early age of forty-four. Glory had not found him out. But the man and his work have attracted a steadily increasing notice, and bid fair to become soon what they deserve to become, in the history of modern philosophy—*the central point of interest.*" Here Matthew Arnold had foreseen with fair accuracy the way in which Spinoza's philosophy would be received and recognised by the philosophical world.

In this book an attempt has been made by an ardent Spinozian to give a clear and correct exposition of Spinoza's main ethical and religious thoughts. The learned author's aim is to popularize Spinoza and make his philosophy spread more in these days. This philosophy he thinks, 'might bring greater understanding, and thereby peace and happiness to many, and so contribute its share towards general world-peace.'

The first chapter of the book serves as an introduction to Spinoza's philosophy and reproduces some passages from the fourth part of his most perfect work, the *Ethica*. The second chapter is taken from the fifth and last part of the *Ethica*. In these two chapters principally the practical, ethical side of Spinoza's philosophy has been presented being the most important for the immediate happiness of man and the world. But the ethical life of man has its stable foundation in a metaphysics—a theory of Reality and of man's relation to and place in it. For Spinoza, Nature, the one Existence or God is the Reality. The third chapter of the book is accordingly devoted to the study of Spinoza's conception of God as identical with Nature. It gives us the fundamentals of this divine principle

of Nature as the all-embracing Whole, spiritual and material, being and non-being. Many of the misconceptions, prejudices and superstitions that have gathered round the nature of God in ages past and present will be laid to rest if Spinoza's idea of God-or Nature is better known to the world at large. The next chapter of the book deals with some practical and ethical applications of this great idea and considers the desirability of substituting "Nature" for God. In these two chapters we find others beside Spinoza advance arguments for the identity of God with Nature as against the "Man-made" Creator-God accepted in all supernatural religions. In the last chapter of the book are drawn the final conclusions of the previous studies. It pleads for the acceptance of a "Natural Religion" in place of the supernatural religions that are generally followed by different races of the world with but rare exceptions. To this end of disciplining the mind in the right way of thinking about God or Nature, a strong case has been made out for the substitution of the word "Nature" for "God." 'Not even Spinoza', we are told by the author, 'escapes always unscathed the fatal influence of the theological term, inherited from his youth and the genius of his race.'

The book brings to light some of the imperishable contributions of Spinoza to human life and thought. It will be found useful by philosophers, theologians and general readers alike. We wish it the wide circulation it deserves.

S. C. CHATTERJEE

Gold Therapy in Tuberculosis.—By Dwarakanath C. "Nut shell." Kilpauk, Madras. 1943. Price Rs. 2-8-0.

The brochure contains an account of the use of certain gold-preparations in the treatment of tuberculosis. Half the volume deals with theoretical considerations on the action of gold on normal and diseased tissues. The author became interested in the Ayurvedic preparation called *Swarna-prôvala Yoga* made from gold and coral, and carried out a portion of the work at Hamburg in Germany and the remainder at the Government Medical School Hospital at Madras. The author has given the name of "*Calcii Aurum*" to this product. No details of the preparation of the product have been given.

The calcium part of this preparation consists of a mixture of oxide, sulphide and carbonate, with a total calcium content of 44.9%. The gold part consists of 64.2% gold and 6.2% organic substances with traces of iron, calcium, carbon dioxide and water. The powder was administered by the mouth, and it was shown that absorption took place and that it was deposited in the reticulo-endothelial system. It is not toxic like preparations for introduction by injection. He claims that oral administration of this preparation increases the resistance of the animal organism against bacterial infections and that, in tuberculous patients, it improves the appetite, gives a general sense of well-being, has a controlling effect on the temperature, increases the weight, lessens cough and facilitates expectoration and prevents night sweats. He has tried to prove that these effects have been due to the drug accelerating the healing process in the diseased areas. No proper data have been given on a thorough chemical analysis of the preparation.

We admire the desire and the attempts of the author in pursuing his subject, but we are afraid there are serious scientific flaws in his investigations. The author starts with a bias stating that "less than 5% of cases in private and institutional practice can be considered ideal for pneumothorax therapy," a statement, which many workers, who are concerned with this method of treatment will not accept. The case reports quoted by him do not include any control cases. The reviewer does not question the value of the drug in increasing appetite and in getting deposited in the cells of the reticulo-endothelial system. To prove that it helps in healing tuberculous lesions, it is necessary to eliminate the effect

Ourselves

[*I. Visit of H. E. the Governor to the Science College.—II. Visit of Mrs. Casey to the Asutosh Museum.—III. Professor B. C. Guha.—IV. Intensive Course on Social Work for Labour Welfare Officers of the Government of India.—V. Lady Brabourne College.—VI. Calcutta University Library.—VII. Coates Medal.—VIII. Additions to the Calcutta University Library Collection.*]

I. Visit of H.E. the Governor to the Science College

H.E. the Governor of Bengal, Mr. R. G. Casey, paid a visit to the Physics Department of the University College of Science on the 27th June, 1944. He spent over two hours in the different sections and evinced particular interest in the workshop of the Physics Department and in the Cyclotron, Cosmic Ray, River Physics and Radio Laboratories.

Mr. Casey also visited the room in which the late Acharya Sir P. C. Ray lived.

Among those present were the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Radhabinode Pal, Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, Dr. B. C. Roy, Prof. Meghnad Saha and Prof. S. K. Mitra.

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II. Visit of Mrs. Casey to the Asutosh Museum

Bengal's age-old heritage of art, beginning from the 3rd century B.C. and as revealed in countless numbers of stone images, bronze and wooden figures, terracotta panels and paintings on palm-leaf, scrolls and manuscript covers, was greatly admired and appreciated by Mrs. Casey on the occasion of a visit to the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta University, on Wednesday, the 5th July, 1944. She was received and shown round the Museum by Dr. S. P. Mookerjee and the Curator, Mr. Devaprasad Ghosh.

A lovely stone head of a lady of about the 11th century A.D. from Dinajpur and a magnificent wooden statue of Gopala from Malda attracted her particular attention. The material from the excavations at Bangarh, the various finds from the different strata, aroused considerable interest in her. She was also delighted to see the wealth of the folk art of modern Bengal and Orissa in the 'Pats' 'Patas' and 'Kanthas'. She expressed the hope that the living art traditions of rural Bengal would continue untramelled by the Machine Age.

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III. Professor B. C. Guha

The services of Prof. Bireschandra Guha, D.Sc., Sir Rashbehary Ghose Professor of Applied Chemistry, have been lent by the University to the Government of India. Prof. Guha will hold the appointment of Chief Technical Adviser to the Food Department.

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IV. Intensive Course on Social Work for Labour Welfare Officers of the Government of India

Arrangements have been made by the University of Calcutta to conduct a short term intensive course on social work for the benefit of Government Labour Welfare Officers, in conjunction with their regular course on Social Services. There will be two courses in a year, one from about July to November and the other from December to April, and ordinarily admission will be reserved for 15 Government nominees for each course. The University of Calcutta is the only University in India which has a course on Social Service for Labour Welfare Officers of the Government of India and Calcutta is the only centre in India for the training of these Officers. Those following the course come from all parts of India—from the North-West Frontier as well as from the Madras Presidency. Tours to various industrial areas and organisations are also arranged for them.

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V. Lady Brabourne College

The Government have sanctioned the proposed extension of affiliation of the Lady Brabourne College, Calcutta, in Geography to the B.A. (Hons.) standard, with permission to present candidates for the examination in that subject for the year 1946 and not earlier.

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VI. Calcutta University Library

Mr. Biswanath Banerjee, M.Sc. (Cal.), Dip.Lib. (London), F.L.A., Deputy Librarian of the University Libraries, has been appointed University Librarian for two years with effect from the 1st July, 1944, in place of Dr. Niharranjan Ray, who has been appointed Rani Bagiswari Reader of Indian Fine Arts.*

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* Inadvertently Dr. Niharranjan Ray was referred to as Bagiswari Professor in our July issue. The above is his correct designation,—*Ed. Cal. Rev.*

VII. Coates Medal

The Coates Medal for the year 1944 has been awarded to Dr. Bishnupada Mukherjee, M.B. (Cal.), M.D. (Mich.), D.Sc. (Mich.), for his contributions to Medical Science.

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VIII. Additions to the Calcutta University Library Collection

The following are some of the recent important additions to the Calcutta University Library:

1. "Trade Relations between Free Market and Controlled Economies." (League of Nations Publications, Geneva.)

2. "Quantitative Trade Controls." (League of Nations Publications, Geneva.)

3. "Economic Fluctuations in the U.S.A. and the United Kingdom, 1918-1922." (League of Nations Publications, Geneva.)

4. "Cochin," by V. K. K. Menon (Editor). (Published under the special authority of H.H. the Maharaja of Cochin.)

5. "Oudh and the East India Company, 1785-1801," by P. Basu. (Lucknow, 1943.)

6. "Poona Residency Correspondence," edited by Sir J. Sarkar and S. G. Sardesai.

7. "Nicholas Copernicus," by Stephen P. Mizwa.

Obituary

Mohitmohan Ghosh

We regret to announce the death of Sj. Mohitmohan Ghosh. He was about 50 at the time of his death, and had been ailing for the last two years.

Sj. Ghosh was a brilliant student, having stood first in almost all the examinations from Matriculation onwards. In 1917, he joined the University of Calcutta as a Lecturer in Mathematics in the Post-Graduate Department. He specialised in Geometry.

Sj. Ghosh was a man of varied interests. He was fond of English Literature and was interested in Anthropology. He was very fond of Vaishnava Literature, especially of the Mahajan Padavali. He even wrote a book himself—a brilliant satire entitled "Urdoscrit"—in which he poked fun at the desire of some people to create an amalgam of Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit words in the Bengali Language. A man endowed with a great sense of humour, he had some very human hobbies—for instance, he enjoyed reading detective fiction.

He was a successful Lecturer and was very popular with his students.

He is survived by his wife. We offer our condolences to her and to his relations in their bereavement.

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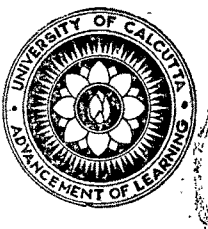
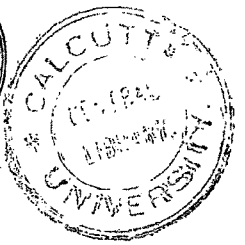
Bidhubhushan Ray

At the moment of going to press we received the sad news of the death of Dr. Bidhubhushan Ray, Khaira Professor of Physics, University of Calcutta, on Saturday, the 29th July, 1944. His death is a great loss to the scientific world.

We intend to give a detailed note about Dr. Ray in our next issue.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

SEPTEMBER, 1944

A STUDY OF CARLYLE'S *HEROES AND HERO-WORSHIP*

SIR A. P. PATRO, KT., K.C.I.E.

WHILE the Public is engaged in political writings and speeches, study of literature finds no such enthusiastic support. Nevertheless the literary charm of coming in contact with master minds of the period or of the past has a great value and inspiring ideas. This article is prepared out of notes made from time to time and the article is written not of " original criticism." " Carlyle was in his day the acknowledged chief of British Literature and for a generation the centre of literary life of England." The pre-eminence of the sage of Chelsea was recognised by many, some were repelled by the style (*Sartor Resartus*) as well as those who were attracted by his message. Dr. H. A. Taine who belonged to the former type said, " It is from Germany that Carlyle had drawn his greatest ideas. He studied these, he knows perfectly its literature and language, he sets this literature in the highest rank, he translated "Wilhelm Meister", he wrote upon the German writers a long series of critical articles, he has written a life of Frederick the Great—He has been the most recognised and most original of the interpreters who have introduced the German mind into England. This is no mean work, for it is in a like work that every thinking persons was then labouring." " The inspired, impassioned man penetrates into things, perceives the cause by the shock which he feels from it, he embraces aggregate by the lucidity and velocity of his creative imagination, he discovers the unity of a group by the unity of emotion which he receives from it. For, as soon as you create, you feel within yourself the force which acts in the objects of your thought, your sympathy reveals to you their sense and connection. Intuition is a finished and living analysis ; Poets and Prophets, Shakespeare and Dante have been systematic theorists without wishing it and their visions comprise general conception of man and the universe. Carlyle's mysticism is a power of the same kind, he translates into poetic and religious style German Philosophy. He speaks life (Fichte) of the divine idea of the world, the reality which lies at the bottom of every Appearance. He speaks life (Goethe) of the spirit which eternally weaves the living robe of divinity." The other school attracted by Carlyle was represented by Prof. Tyndall, Emerson, Ruskin, J. S. Mill, John Morley and Tennyson. In his Belfast address Prof. Tyndall said, " I am reminded of one among us, hoary but still strong whose prophet voice some sixty years ago, far more than any other of this age, unlocked whatever of life and nobleness lay latent in its most gifted minds, one fit to stand beside Socrates or Eleazar and to dare and suffer all that they suffered and dared, fit as he once said of Fichte to have been the teacher of Stoa and to have discoursed of Beauty and Virtue in his groves of Academe." No greater tribute can be paid to a living writer, Mathew Arnold discovered at Oxford in 1840 the prophetic voice of Carlyle. " In the seventies " writes Prof. Scott' "Men read Tennyson for delight and Carlyle for inspiration ; but

as time showed the readers had become more numerous than the appreciators or true desciples. In the Eighties, something of Carlyle's authority was transferred to his friends, Browning and Ruskin. And in the nature of things the note and charm of originality will be less and less discerned as his thoughts more fully permeate men's minds and the years remove his personality, yet until some others arise of kindred power—some thinker such as literature at present gives no promise of Carlyle—will continue to be the most potent personal influence in the living literature of England."

I proposed at first to study Carlyle in his *Heroes and Hero-worship and the Heroic in History* but time and space forbids me to enter into a discussion of the same. I shall therefore present here some of the greatest tendencies and characteristics, the inspiring message and noble thoughts disclosed in the writings most familiar to me (*Sartor Resartus, Heroes, French Revolution and Cromwell*). Carlyle in his life (4th December, 1785 to 5th February 1881) links the epoch of Poetry and the epoch of Science in England. By the time Carlyle began his essays in the *Edinburgh Review and the Frazer's Magazine* Byron and Shelley were silent in the grave. Sir W. Scott reached his culminating point. One of the most gifted muses England has ever known, Keats, has just found (1882) in the morning of life an Italian grave. Byron exchanged the pen for the sword. A new interest arose in critical literature. That was a period of transition in authors from pure or imaginative literature to the study of history and of political science and political biography. Carlyle came as a prophet, with a prophet's sternness and eloquence and the message he had to deliver he delivered with a prophet's fervour. He wrote "Through the fogs and darkness of that obscure region his lynx eye discerns the true relations of the world and human life, he grows into intellectual strength and trains himself into intellectual expertness. Impelled by the expansive movement of his own irrepressible soul, he struggles forward into the general view"—" and there is a natural kinship between the Poet and the Prophet, both of them by the force of pure genius drew to them the eyes of the world both had to encounter, had to struggle with poverty."

To estimate Carlyle fully and truly is supremely difficult. His character is portrayed in the *Heroes*. Sincerity, depth of insight, tenderness of heart, power of seeing clearly and grasping firmly, uncompromising and noble independence, religious principle and absolute consecration to Art.

Carlyle says of his heroes "His sincerity, his indisputable air of truth—are no fabulous woes or joys, no hollow fantastic sentimentalities, no wire-drawn refinings, either in thought or feeling : the passion that is traced before us has glowed in a living heart, the opinion he utters has risen in his own understanding, and been a light to his steps." " Let him who would move and convince others," says he, " be first moved and convinced himself. Be true, if you would be believed". It is this sincerity aad truth, the Gospel he inculcates in his heroes, it is pre-eminently these qualities that are delineated. No modern writer approaches him in this power of delineation. He is struck by an incident, he comes upon some one lifted above the common rut by position, circumstances, character and his imagination is in a blaze, the incident is marked upon the memory for ever, the man or the woman is drawn in a few sharp, vivid illuminating lines that cannot be obliterated. To quote from *Sartor Resartus*, speaking of the Setting Sun, he writes Silence as of Death, for midnight even in the Arctic latitudes, has its character ; nothing but the granite cliffs ruddy, tinged, the peaceable gurgle of that slow heaving Polar Ocean, over which in the utmost North the Great Sun gauge low and lazy, as if he were too slumbering. Yet is his cloud cough wrought of crimson and cloth of gold, yet does his light stream over the mirror of waters, like a tremulous fire-pillar, shooting downwards to the abyss, and hides itself under my feet. In such movements solitude also is invaluable for who would speak, or be looked on, when behind him lies all Europe and Africa fast asleep, except the watchman and before him the silent immensity and Palace of the Eternal, whereof our Sun is but a porch lamp." Of the heroes he demanded force and fineness of understanding. A man of

strong understanding is generally a man of strong character. It is reverence, it is love, towards all Nature that inspires him, that opens his eyes to its beauty and makes heart and voice eloquent. This belief in the heroes is one of the controlling ideas in Carlyle's thought. People may swear at him for this enthusiasm. Carlyle's greatest work, his life of Frederick, has been described as the essence of innumerable Biographies. History, according to him, is a record of what great men have accomplished in the world. Great men are the makers of events. To him the great men were the chosen servants of God. That they are the embodiments of their time and not the bringers of a new message will not be accepted by him. To quote his inimitable words, "Universal History, the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is at bottom, the history of the great men who have worked here. They were the leaders of men, these great ones, the modellers, patterns and in a wide sense creators of whatsoever the general mass of men contrived to do or attain. All things that we see standing accomplished in the world are properly the outer material result, the practical realisation and embodiment of thoughts that dwelt in the great men sent into the world, the soul of the whole world's history, it may justly be considered, were the history of these." Nevertheless we realise it is but a half truth.

In his wonderfully stimulating book, *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, he gives us a wider vision, sympathy with men and creed far apart and the sense of the infinite mystery of man and the universe. All is good that has done good to men, whatever its shape, or whether we comprehend and appreciate it or not, it is part of the purpose of the Eternal. The core of all religions is the same, the outward appearance changes with the centuries and needs of men. The wise thing for men to do, and the great men teach us at once the necessity and the happiness of it, is to "cease his frantic pretension of scanning this great God's world in his small fraction of a brain, to know that it had verily, though deep beyond his soundings." In *Sartor Resartus* he states, "On the whole, as time adds much to the sacredness of symbols, so likewise in his progress he at length defaces or even desecrates them; and symbols like all terrestrial garments wax old." "For all things, even celestial luminaries have their rise, their culmination, their decline." He constantly declares that a Moral Power rules the world and it is in the light of the qualities he feels this power to possess that he examines human affairs and pronounces upon them. For a long time in his youth Carlyle suffered from mental trials; the struggles of faith fighting for the soul with the "everlasting no" of its enemy. Style of the *Sartor Resartus* is congenial to the thought, the language completely congruous with its subject. On the literary side it has the "loving craftsman's conscientiousness," pride in his work, desire to find a perfect medium for the translation of his ideas. On the intellectual and moral it has honesty of purpose, intensity of conviction, fearlessness in putting forth views strongly held. If we take up chapter on "Everlasting No," "The Everlasting Yea," "Natural Supernaturalism" we find that the hero (Tufelsdrockh), after years of crisis, of transition, finds himself quite shut out from hope. After wandering through the world he cried "Faith is the one thing needful." "Is there no God then sitting idle, ever since the first Sabbath at the outside of His Universe, and seeking it go?" Has the word Duty no meaning, is what we call duty no Divine Messenger and Guide, but a false earthly Fantasm, made up of Desire and Fear." He reaches the centre of indifference. The transition to "everlasting yea" is a slow process, but it is accomplished. The first step was the annihilation of self, which unseals the mind's eyes. He converses with Nature, with the life around him, Nature is the living garment of God."

What is it in Carlyle that outshone other men of letters of his day? Is it his intense personality or his superior intellect? It was his intense personality. He had vast knowledge, so also had Macaulay, De Quincey, Mill. In intellectual power Carlyle was probably not the first but in force of character, in individuality, in will, in personal power he far surpassed them. He came from the peasantry, of knowledge he had acquired but no art, no social refinement.

Yet by sheer spiritual strength he made his way into the midst of the most eminent, stood side by side with them, and plainly enough everstopped them all. Years ago he was a fresh force, a new original thinker. But the present generation has inhaled in childhood the ideas which he breathed abroad. Prof. Scott thinks that "it is still true, if we accept portions of the teaching of Ruskin, that his expression of them is more vigorous, more beautiful, more fascinating than is elsewhere to be found. Time however works imperceptibly on the public taste and on the enjoyment of old authors"—"The fate of eminent writers after two or three generations is to be canonised as classics and laid on the shelf." I have no time to compare the styles of all three great writers—Garnett marks off Shelley and Carlyle as the two men of this century in whose hands language becomes "flexible and fusible." Macaulay's is the style of genius.

Carlyle is not a literary critic. He was an interpretor of literary men who added profound reflections of his own on character and life. His supreme distinction is as a moralist, whether it be in literature, history or politics. That is his theme, it is the ethical centre that he holds by; men are heroes on moral grounds. "It is their ideas regarding their life and duty that exalt the prose works of Bacon and Milton; of Johnson and Burke. And in this respect we may confidently say that the greatest of the English moralists are Bacon and Carlyle."

French Revolution is probably the finest achievement of the century. This book is remarkable in two ways: (1) For its *descriptive power*. It is full of portraits of men and vivid pictures of events, they pass in rapid succession and in endless variety, (2) for its *philosophy of history*. The French Revolution, a supreme manifestation of the forces that are moving the world, a greater assertion of fact in the face of all unrealities, a conclusive proof of the presence of a stern Providence determining all destinies. The work is described as Prose Epic whose value as literature is permanent. The first volume is remarkable for the graphic description of events and delineation of characters and with a brilliant phrase a vivid picture is placed before the reader. Discoursing on "*Heroes*" as man of letters Carlyle wrote "Meanwhile since it is the spiritual always that determines the material, this same man of letters Hero must be regarded as our most important modern person. He, such he may be, is the Soul of all. The Hero lives in the inward sphere of things, in the true, Divine and Eternal which exists always, unseen to most under the Temporary, Trivial; his being is in that he declares that abroad, by act or speech as it may be, in declaring himself abroad. His life, as we said before, is a piece of the everlasting heart of Nature herself; all men's life is, but the weak may not know the fact, and are untrue to it, in most times." The Hero as King, writes Carlyle, that which we call Kingship. The commander over men, he to whose will our wills are to be subordinated, and loyally surrender themselves, and find their welfare in doing so, may be reckoned the most important of great men. He is practically the summary for us of all the various figures of Heroism; Priest, Teacher, whatsoever of earthly or of spiritual dignity we can fancy to reside in a man, embodies itself here, to command over us, to furnish us with constant practical teaching, to tell us for the day and hour what we are to do. In concluding his address on "*Heroes*" Carlyle writes that it is a great subject, and a most grave and wide one, this which, not to be too grave about it. It enters deeply as I think, into the secret of mankind's ways and the most vital interests in this world, and is well worth explaining at present."

I wish I am able to stimulate the sincere desire to study the master mind Carlyle. To me, Carlyle is most interesting as a man, a prophet and a great writer, the inspired agency of God to war against forms and formulas against Cant, in sincerity and untruth and lead men to Reality and Action. In the moral and spiritual forces of the Victorian Era of literature are revealed more intensely than any other except perhaps Ruskin. His style may repel some in the beginning but great critics have placed it with the classics of De Quincey and Macaulay. Prof. Scott's Critical Study is indeed very enlightening; I read it with deep interest. I wish I could give you some patterns of the Great Artist, some shades of the colour and design.

ISLAM AND SOCIALISM

PROF. DR. ISHANULLAH KHAN, M.A., PH.D.,
Islamia College, Peshawar

ISLAM is a religion, Socialism is simply an Economic Institution taking finally the form of a state—a Political Institution. Both stand for some purpose—some end. The end or purpose of the latter is the physical and economic welfare of man or in other words, *the total removal or extermination of poverty* from all classes of people in the state. The end or purpose of Islam, on the other hand, is the *Perfection of man in all forms—i.e.*, the elevation of man *Insan-Kamil*—and what is a perfect man? He who has the best of conduct and character *Akhlaq*, the best of intellect *Aqal*, the best and finest sense for the appreciation of beauty *Husan* and has the best of health, is free from all *cares and wants* and is consequently the *happiest* of all creatures. Evidently the physical and economic welfare of man, from the Islamic standpoint is only an *aspect*, or an element, of the end, but not an end in itself. For Socialism, on the other hand, it is an end in itself, the Sole End to which all other ends must be subordinated. This is the fundamental distinction between Islam and Socialism. But however they may differ, there is one point at least which is common to both, namely, the principle of the eradication of poverty and bringing into being freedom from want. But even so the affinity is merely in the principle as such, *i.e.*, in the aspiration to remove poverty but not in the ways and means or methods devised by each for the achievement of the same. The means and methods adopted by each differ violently and the point at issue, therefore, is, which of the methods is better and more successful in removing the evil of poverty and bringing into being freedom from want? Some maintain that the methods devised by socialism are better than those of Islam; others maintain that the two systems are almost identical and can be reconciled; still others maintain that they are essentially different and that the methods devised by Islam are superior to those of Socialism. I agree with the last group of people and maintain that the two systems are fundamentally different and that the means adopted by Islam are far more successful and superior than those adopted by Socialism or any other hypothesis.

I. Socialism starts with the assumption that all men are equal and therefore justice demands that each man should have equal share of the total wealth of the nation; that there should be an equal distribution of it among all and that there should be no distinction between man and man or class and class. But the assumption of the equality of man is erroneous for all men are "ideally" equal but not "factually" so. Factually, some are weak and others are strong; some are vicious and others are virtuous and so on. If now the stronger and the more capable people, by sheer dint of honest labour, accumulate more wealth than the weaker and less capable people, no institution in the world has any right to deprive such people of their wealth for the sake of equalising them with the inefficient and unworthy people. If yet they are deprived of their honest earnings as Socialism would have it, this would be gross injustice. Socialism, which starts with the specific object of dispensing justice to all, involves itself in the grossest injustice conceivable.

II. Socialism further assumes that the richer and wealthier people are necessarily cruel and wicked; and that the wealth they accumulate is earned through callous and vicious means. But is wealth necessarily accumulated by such methods? Many may have earned their wealth through honest and sincere work and to deprive them of their wealth is obvious injustice.

III. Again, all men are equal and there should be an equal distribution of wealth among all, but since the equal distribution of wealth, they maintain, is impossible so long as the Institution of Private Property exists, it must go. So long, they argue, as each person retains his own wealth for himself, there shall always arise a class of more prudent, capable and tactful people who would earn more than the less capable and tactful people; and once such persons have taken a start they will go on multiplying their wealth without much effort on their

part—by investing and reinvesting it in different forms. Of necessity, therefore, must Capitalism and unequal distribution of wealth result again and again from the Institution of Private Property. This institution should be totally abolished and not individuals but the State should be the owner of all property. The individuals should entrust his all, whatever it may be, great or small, to the State, and the State should be the sole owner of 'total property.' There should be thus no 'MINE' or 'THINE'; all wealth should belong to the State and then the State shall have to distribute it equally among all, thus resulting in complete justice and all will have equal share of the common wealth of the nation, in which there would be no distinction between the rich and the poor and all will be equally well-provided.

But again this position has a difficulty of its own kind. The efficiency of individuals 'singly' and that of the State 'collectively' will suffer considerably on that account. Man is primarily an individual and only secondarily a social being. The more capable must naturally think why after all should they work for the State, for others, when their own interest must necessarily suffer; why after all should they add more to their income, when that excess would always be denied to them. Again man is primarily lazy and seeks play and happiness rather than work and strain. Left to himself, he would never work or strain himself willingly. He works only under the stress of circumstances—not work for the sake of work. Thus the less capable people in the Socialistic State would naturally think why should they after all strain themselves and work harder if already their share of the wealth of the nation is secured; Why after all should they produce more, when that more will be taken away by the State. Thus the rich and the poor, the competent and the incompetent would alike lose interest in their work and society would necessarily become inefficient. The result would be that the total wealth of the nation, as also the share of the individual in it would go on decreasing from year to year, until a day would come when the share of the individual would reach a point far lower than even what a most incompetent person would have earned, if left to himself. Socialism started with the object of providing sufficient for each and all, but failed to provide even the barest minimum for any. It must give up its first and most fundamental theses, *viz.*, "The abolition of private property" and its corollary, *viz.*, "all property to be owned by the State."

But even assuming that Socialism succeeds and succeeds a hundred per cent, then, in that case, each and all would be well-fed, but none would be moral, because 'the giving' in the case of each is not voluntary or out of free will. There is indeed no giving on the part of the individuals, whether voluntary or out of free will. All property belongs to the State and it is the State that gives to the individual and not the individual that gives to the State. The share of the individual is not so much "given" by the individual to the State, as it is really "taken" from the individual by the State. The morality of an action consists in "giving" things over to rather than be "taken" away from. Thus a Socialistic State on this hypothesis is tantamount to a kingdom of animals in a huge jungle where there is plenty to eat and drink and where each and all are well-fed and properly stuffed, and yet all remain animals inspite of it—animals and not moral human beings.

But one might say that the question of "giving" and giving things voluntarily does certainly exist in a Socialistic State. After all, as Socialists surmise every individual in a Socialistic State is absolutely free to give his vote to anybody, and once his original vote is freely given, his subsequent acts that follow from it are all freely determined. But this is a wrong argument, the original free vote does not necessarily make all subsequent individual acts free and hence moral. I might have freely voted for Mr. X to become a minister and yet it is possible that, subsequently, I might differ with his policy and conduct. If yet I obey his orders, it can be for no other reason than from fear or prudence in which morality has no share. Morality is not a matter of habitual and mechanical action according to certain principles, as socialism would like it to be. For

instance once you have freely voted for certain principles, you shall have to follow them mechanically, necessarily and compulsorily in all your individual acts, whether you subsequently agree or disagree with them. But morality is quite the opposite of it. It is not a free act once or casually done in life but is a series of free acts ever and ever anew!

1. Generally speaking, Socialism conceives the nature of man essentially as *animal*, a *feeling-being*, with food and happiness as his sole end in life. But food, wealth or happiness are precisely the things which each man will have all for himself and not share with others. Left to feelings and animal impulses as being the standard we never share our wealth and happiness with others and never become one with them. Where we share our well-being and happiness with others, it is our *reason* that bids us so to do and not our feelings or animal impulses. Reason must intervene into the life of man if we are to share our weal and woe with others and be anything better than an animal. With the dawn of this reason, new demands would be made on us—the demand or yearning to seek *Truth, Goodness, Beauty* and *Holiness*. But this is neither open to Socialism nor does it actually admit it. Hence the *materialism* and *Godlessness* of this system. We thus pass to the second thesis of Socialism.

2. Socialism assumes that the church and priests who represent God on earth are vicious institutions and they make capital out of it. Here again we are involved in Capitalism, which is their foremost duty to destroy. *State and Statesmen* should thus take the place of the church and the priests. The State should be all in all and nothing besides the State should exist. There should be no God, no Religion side by side with the State to inspire people and to challenge its supremacy.

But let us analyse this argument. From the casual or even wholesale badness of the priests, we are not entitled to jump to the conclusion that Religion itself is bad.

Socialism is not clear on the point that it is precisely *Religion* from which all fundamentally human values first orginate and then finally culminate in it. Even the economic welfare of man as described above, would be something impossible without religion. Without religion, society would be something like Hobbe's Kingdom of Wolves, *where* every one would perenially run at the other's throat and be at war among themselves. All would be destruction and no production. Thus even with Economic Welfare as the end, let alone other yearnings, it is indispensable to retain God and Religion.

Moreover, since all fundamental values originate from and cluminate in Religion, it is therefore at the basis of all Culture and Civilization. Without it there would be neither Culture nor Civilization and if we presume some sort of culture and civilisation would exist it will be grossly primitive and unworthy of man. Without a really advanced Culture and Civilization, no nation has any moral right to Internationalism, as Socialism would have it. Hence again Socialism would be obliged to abandon yet another thesis of its own, its Godlessness and that too, if not for itself, at least in the interest of the Internationalism which is the third chief thesis of Socialism.

3. The starting point of Socialism is: All men are equal and therefore there should be an equal distribution of wealth among all. This necessarily leads to Internationalism when consistently followed. If all men are really equal, then not only are all individuals within the same State, but also all States and people within the same world, are equal to each other. Hence allStates and people should have equal share of the total wealth of the world. But who is to enforce this principle? Who is to be the torch-bearer and pioneer of it? The thought as such, would not be acceptable to those who may have to suffer on that account. Who could compel America to share its surplus wealth with Arabia, China, Afghanistan, etc.? Evidently this presupposes the existence of some one State strong enough to enforce the same thought. Here again we shall encounter the same difficulties as I have stated above. Even if a State that could enforce the thought, were to come into being, the giving on the part of the States will not be voluntary and hence not moral. Moreover, the total wealth

of the world, as also the share of the individual States is likely to fall from year to year as it will be an involuntary imposition and man does not like it. Besides the thought of equal distribution is not open to Socialism, for it conceives the nature of man essentially as animal and as as animal I can never pass from the circle of "my good," "my happiness," to that of "your good," "your happiness." What is impossible as between individuals will be equally impossible as between States. Once this principle of Socialism, namely, that food and happiness is the sole end of man is accepted, neither the individuals nor indeed the States will part with what is the only and the most valuable thing, according to them.

But even assuming that the individual States could part with their surplus, the case would be no better either from the Socialist standpoint. The surplus would not go to the poorer States but to the richest and the strongest of all States. For of all States, this very Socialistic State will of necessity lapse into Imperialism with all its evils, indeed a worse sort of Imperialism, a world-wide Imperialism, a thing which was the starting point of Socialism to fight against and eradicate in all possible forms.

To this one might object that Socialism does not really maintain that the richer states should entrust their surplus to some stronger one in order that it may distribute it among the poorer States. All that it maintains is that every State within its own sphere should have equal distribution among the individuals. But this would defeat the ideal of International Socialism only to be replaced by *National Socialism*. In any case, it will be simply compelled by the sheer contradictions and inconsistencies to give up one thesis after another until we shall have merely a form without content—a bare principle of the removal of poverty without its original means to work it out. But this simple Socialist principle is not peculiar to Socialism. All religions, long before Socialism, had ordained it, and even to-day many worldly States aspire to realize it in their own way. What I have simply formally stated, is actually proved by the stubborn facts of life. Already socialism has permitted private property and has abandoned its Godlessness and Internationalism. Thus it is no more Socialism; at best it is *Neo*-Socialism. But *Neo*-Socialism is a new Socialism and is something other than Socialism, is anything *but* Socialism. If yet you call it Socialism, then it is like the miser's sock, patched up with new threads again and again and over again until not a single thread of the original remains and yet it is the same old sock. This may be true of the sock for all practical purposes but not of Idealogies. We now pass to Islam to see how the problem of the removal of poverty is tackled by it.

Socialism maintains that so long as the Institution of Private Property exists, the resultant Capitalism and its consequent evils must necessarily co-exist with it. But if Private Property is abolished, the result is no better either, for efficiency would suffer and the rest would be a considerable decrease in the total wealth of the nation, as also that of the individual. Evidently, we are involved in a sort of *conflict or antinomy*, for both the positions are right. The problem now is how to resolve this antinomy and how to reconcile this conflict. Islam offers a solution which is quite correct and fair.

Islam assumes that the Institution of Private Property is good from the point of view of "efficiency" that it promotes; but it is bad from the point of view of "*Capitalism*" which it encourages. Hence private property should be *retained* as well as abolished in the same breath—retained in order to encourage efficiency, and abolished in order to discharge Capitalism. But how is it possible to retain and not retain a thing at one and the same time? How am I to conceive that the property is mine and yet not mine at the same time? This is possible when the concept "mine" and "not mine" is looked at from different standpoints, and this is precisely the attitude which Islam actually takes towards it. Empirically, factually, and actually, the property is mine all right, because it is in my possession. Hence it is natural that I should have interest in it and should *promote* it as much as it is in my power to do so. But *transcenden-*

tally, rationally and ideally it is *not mine* and is *God's* property, because He alone is the ultimate Creator of all things. Hence I should have no hesitation in parting with it, if God so desires. Hence also the synthesis of the conflicting thesis and the solution of the antinomy. The Institution of Private Property is kept intact without necessarily resulting in Capitalism. The point of efficiency is combined with a set-back to Capitalism in a most harmonious way. This much abstractly speaking. We may now give two concrete illustrations.

Islam encourages the production of wealth and yet discourages the accumulation of the same in the hands of a few (Capitalism). This it does by the Institution of the "Law of Inheritance," by forbidding interest and by the injunctions of poor tax, alms-giving, lending without remuneration gift, trust, the giving of one-third in will to anybody other than lawful successors, etc., etc.

The Islamic "Law of Inheritance" is an immense blow to Capitalism, for through it the property of man is divided and re-divided among his successors and even among their remote successors, if there are no immediate ones. In any case the property cannot remain compact and in the hand of few in the long run. Thus the property will circulate from person to person until many are benefited thereby; and when many are benefited, the total wealth of the nation also increases.

The abolition of usury is another great set back to Capitalism. Usury is a vicious institution and is at the basis of Capitalism. The rich, thereby, gain more and more money without doing "any positive work." In other words it is the *money* that makes money and not the man behind it. It is the mere possession of money that brings money and not the work or toil of the person possessing the money.

In Islam it should be the *man himself* and not his bare money to make more money—the man and his nerves, tissues, muscles, brain, etc. Thus there is no room in the Islamic State for the exploitation of the individual by the individual. The individuals would be no longer perenially under debts to money-lenders. Nor would certain States be perenially under debts lo other States. Hence there would be no Capitalism, no exploitation, and therefore no poverty. An Islamic State when it comes to the test of Internationalism, would never like Socialism, lapse into Imperialism. زكوٰة (tithe), خيرات (alms), صدقات (charity), قرض حسنه (loan without interest), هبه (gift), امانت (deposit by way of trust), وقف (beqest), وصيت (endowment), etc., etc., are other such measures which put a ban on Capitalism and restrain it. These institutions prevent the money from being accumulated in the hands of a few, rather must necessarily flow from man to man and class to class in a rapid circulation. This is very nearly the essence of the Economic well-being of both the individuals and the State. But one might object that these injunctions were perhaps helpful for maintaining the poor, but can hardly be expected to meet the gigantic demands and requirements of a modern State. This may be right, but nothing can stand in the way of an Islamic State either to impose more and more taxes or demand from the individual whatever he could spare for the amelioration of the condition of his brethren the Quranic versers ان الله اشترىٰ من المؤمنين اموالهم و انفسهم بان لهم الجنة (God had purchased from believers their property and life in lieu of Paradise) clearly indicates that the wealth and body of a Muslim is purchased by God in lieu of Paradise and can be requisitioned when He so desires.

Further, of all these injunctions, زكوٰة (tithe) is one form of duty, whereas خيرات (alms), صدقات (charity), قرض حسنه (loan), هبه (gift), امانت (deposit by way of trust), وقف (endowment), وصيت (bequest), etc., etc., form other duties. Tithe زكوٰة is an absolute duty, whereas the others are meritorious duties.

زکوٰۃ tithe is compulsorily enforced and collected by the Khalifa in the name of God, the other institutions are not so enforced by the Khalifa. زکوٰۃ (tithe) is a duty which Moslems have necessarily and absolutely to perform and its non-observance is a vice, and its observance a virtue. Whereas the other meritorious duties are duties of a nature that if we do not perform them, our act is not vice, but if we perform them, our action is virtue, indeed *meritorious virtue*—a virtue *par excellence*. This sort of virtue does not exist in any worldly State or organisation, not even in a Socialistic State. In a Socialistic State there is hardly any room for virtues, leave alone the meritorious ones. It is a wholesale compulsion and whatever you have in excess of your wants will be taken away from you and you will be left on a par with others—the question of *yet giving more, i.e.*, meritorious duties, not arising at all.

The state is all in all for Socialism, whereas God is the all and all for Islam. In the former the act of giving is for *fear of the State*, whereas in the latter it is for the *fear of God*. Evidently the latter is moral action, whereas the former is only a *legal one*. Thus for a Muslim the act of "giving" is not only conducive to feeding others, but is also helpful to his own reformation, or self perfection.

But to this one might object that an action done out of 'fear" is non-moral, whether it be for fear of God as in the case of a Muslim, or for fear of the State as in the case of a socialist. Hence in either case the action is non-moral. But this is a wrong position. There is a radical difference between fear of God and fear of State, the two being different in kind. The fear of God is a matter of faith and the fear of State is a matter of 'knowledge.' The object of faith in God, who is not a concrete object is not immediately subjectively present before me, it is my faith in Him, ایمان بالغیب (faith in the unknown). Evidently punishment is not imminent, if I do not believe in Him even His punishment itself is a matter of Faith. Thus there is no *compulsion* in Religion, indeed, much more the opposite of it. I am free to believe or not believe in God, or even to believe in one notion of God or the other. The sword of God is not immediately present before me to compel me to believe in Him, or believe in Him one way or the other. That I yet believe in Him inspite of the absence of His punishment, amounts to *complete freedom* in the choice of my faith. Thus my faith in God and consequent fear of God are both my own creation, are autonomous and there is no *compulsion* involved in it. On the contrary the fear of the State is a fear of a concrete object, which is present before me and its punishment is imminent, If I disobey it. It is the fear of a thing outside me and of an external origin and is hetronomous. It is a thing or person other than one's own person, who compels me to do this or that for fear of His sword immediately present before me. Hence the distinction between the two fears, of which the one is freely chosen, self-created, autonomous and hence the existence of the conditions of morality, while the other is not. In conclusion, I must say that even assuming that Islam does not succeed in exterminating poverty altogether, the case is not likely to be bad either. For the worth or dignity of a man, according to Islam consists essentially in the *character and righteousuess* of a man rather than in the wealth or riches possessed by him. Thus the poor in an Islamic State will not be looked down upon for the mere fact of poverty, nor the rich would in any way be respected for the mere fact of wealth they possess. The result would be that the rich and the poor would be all alike and shall form one brotherhood. In this brotherhood the rich will have no feeling of superiority, nor the poor that of inferiority, so that there will be neither quarrel among the individuals within the state, nor war among the State within the world, inspite of the inequality in wealth. All would be peace and peace and a Kingdom of God on earth would be established in the truest sense of the term. This is precisely what the word Islam means and this is precisely what the Quran invites mankind to enter into peace—perfect and universal.

JAN IGNACE PADEREWSKI, PIANIST-STATESMAN OF POLAND

J. M. D'SOUZA, B.A., L.T.C.L., BOMBAY

THIS world-renowned Pianist and one of the most eminent international figures of the last fifty years, passed away on June 2, 1941, thus preceding our Rabindranath Tagore by a little more than a month. Many were the sterling qualities of head and heart that these two world figures had in common, and both died full of years and full of honours. "Died" is not the word we could rightly use, for we are dealing with immortals. Like Tagore, Paderewski too was a highly versatile and creative genius—pianist, composer, linguist, educationist, orator, statesman, and above all, a true patriot. Like Tagore, again, he touched nothing that he did not adorn.

Paderewski was to Poland what Tagore was to India. It is a pleasure to recall that at the Peace Table at Versailles he was one of the few statesman who could speak with equal force and accuracy in several tongues. It is generally believed that a musician cannot be a politician, and a politician cannot be a musician. But Paderewski combined both music and politics with amazing success and he was known to the world as 'Pianist-Statesman' or 'Premier-Paderewski.' He is said to have once described his friend as "a dear soul playing the Polo" and himself as "a *poor Polè* playing the solo." An artist with a very large income, what Paderewski could never have known is poverty; but yet on two occasions he literally impoverished himself having sacrificed all his wealth on the altar of freedom of his country. It seems to have been his firm creed that betrayal and brutal force might conquer Poland but these would never subdue the will of the Polish people for their rights of nationhood and freedom. Poland might be wiped off the map of Europe, but never from the hearts of her people. We may safely join hands with those who believe that the wanton cruelties and mass murder that have come to Poland in recent years must unquestionably have hastened his end.

He was born on November 6, 1860. His father[1] was a versatile amateur artist —he played the violin, he painted, and practised sculpture. His mother began to instruct him in his piano lessons at the age of three. These early foundations were later built upon by some seven other best teachers of the time. Paderewski first played to the public at the age of 27 in Vienna, in 1887. He appeared in Paris in 1888, in London in 1890, and in New York in 1891. At the early age of about 28, he was quite an equal of Rubinstein, and played "marvellously" and with "such power and with such tender feeling." His success[2] was rapid and tremendous, and it will be interesting to know that a concert in London rarely brought in less than 1,000. It is needless to say that in America he fared better still.

He dramatised the entire Piano Literature in a way which moved millions. The charm and excellence which always characterised his performances were no doubt brought about by hard work and exhaustive study. For years he practised for ten and twelve hours a day, and at a new repertoire he would work as much as sixteen hours a day. He held that "there is no absolute rhythm,"[3] and pressed for discretional power and freedom in the domain of the art of performance. "To be emotional in musical interpretation, yet obedient to the initial tempo," he says, "means as much as being sentimental in engineering." The orthodox critics barked for a while but had at last to yield to the master, who by dint of highly enriched orchestral effects and superb tone-colour held the musical world spell-bound. His innovations were convincing because of the logic and "single-mindedness" of purpose behind them. The critics had but to admit that there was method in his madness. He devoted a great deal of his time and effort to musical composition.[4] The world, however, neglected his compositions to seize

1 'The Etude,' November, 1936.
2 The Diary of Queen Victoria, July, 2, 1890.
3 'The Etude,' October, 1935.
4 Rom Landau, "Ignace Paderewski, Musician and Statesman.

upon his execution. Now that he has ceased to be, we hope that the world of tomorrow will reverse the process and bestow upon his numerous works the thought and attention they deserve.

His was a soul that "pined for what is not." The present age to his mind was an age of wonders, scientifically and mechanically, but he noted with grave concern that the arts were being driven into an arid wilderness. He wept to see how much of glamour and beauty the world had lost in the progress of mechanization. He invested a large part of his income in founding scholarships and prizes to encourage original research and study in various departments of the Science and Art of Music.

He always held the view that music should form a part of the education of every child, the object of the musical training being to make the child musical and not always to make him a musician. This laudable opinion of this master artist and educationist ought to prove an inspiring message to our Indian Universities most of which so far seem to treat music either as "a frill for girls" or as a subject totally "unworthy of academical pursuit." It is high time that our educationists begin to consider it their bounden duty to provide first rate musical education[5] on a nation-wide scale so that they may produce at least cultured and appreciative audiences, if not great performing artists. At present there is no doubt that we have a painful dearth of such audiences as may well be seen from the recent biting remark of the 'Times of India' musical critic that "members of the audience did not appear to appreciate that not only applause but also conversation is out of place during the intervals between the movements of a sonata."

Paderewski was an internationalist because he was a nationalist, and he was a nationalist because he was an internationalist. He was not a mere dreamer. In his leisure he sought people, conversation and the atmosphere of companionship. The world owes a tribute to his magnetic personality, the multiple facets of his genius, wisdom, generosity, nobility of heart, fervour of patriotism, clear vision, strength of opinion and delicate diplomacy. We cannot but agree with the Editor of 'The Etude' that there are hardly enough words in the English language to encompass the splendour of such a soul as that of Paderewski. Let us therefore, in silent reverence, muse with the poet,

"The silent organ loudest chants,
The Master's requiem....."

See P. 100. - I

THE THEORY OF INTERNAL RELATIONS

DR. SATISCHANDRA CHATTERJEE, M.A., PH.D.
Calcutta University

II

THE long-drawn controversy between the advocates of external and internal relations seems to us to be due to the want of clear conceptions about relations and things or objects. We say that the things or objects of the world have certain relations to one another. But we do

[5] For fuller details on this subject the reader is referred to my articles in 'Modern Review,' October, 1938 ' and New Review,' December, 1938.

not at the same time carefully consider what a thing and its relation really mean. If we can make our ideas about things and relations clear, then we may expect to see the end of the controversy as to whether relations are internal or external. These ideas we propose to consider next.

The first question we have to consider is: What is a relation? It may be said at the very outset that relations are not things or substances. Professor Alexander's treatment of the category of relation makes the nearest approximation to the view that relations are as good as things. According to him, relation is as original and elementary a feature of the universe as 'substantive things.' All relations ultimately depend on and express the continuity of Space-Time. Empirical relations of space and time are themselves spaces and times, and are thus homogeneous with the terms related by them. When a relation relates certain terms it makes a connected whole of those terms. 'Thus a relation may be described as the whole situation into which its terms enter, in virtue of that relation.' Relations are as real and concrete as the things related by them. Relations are external realities when they are relations of external things, and mental realities when they pertain to mental things. But in neither case are they subjective or products of the mind. They are really objective and grounded in the nature of the things between which they hold. Further, Alexander thinks that whether relations are external or internal depends on what we mean by these words. '"If to be external means to have a recognisable existence as much as terms have, relations are external." Relations *exist* and are different from the terms related by them. But they do not exist in separation from their terms and are not added to them as a third factor. So far as this is the case, a relation may be said to be internal to its terms. But a relation does not inhere as a quality in the terms. A relation is internal to the terms, not in the sense of being a quality which inheres in the terms, but in that of being something which cannot exist without the terms.[1]

It would appear from the brief statement of Alexander's position given above that although he does not actually identify relations with things and maintains the distinction between the categories of substance and relation, yet he comes very near to the view that they are as good as things. This is borne out by the fact that he treats relations as not only real and objective, but also as concrete and existent. 'Relations of space and time,' he tells us, 'are themselves spaces and times, and are *homogeneous* with the terms related by them.' But while relations may be said to be real and objective in a sense, we do not understand in what sense they can be regarded as concrete and existent. It is clear that relations do not exist in the same sense in which things and their qualities or actions exist. A relation does not exist like a sensible factor a particular in space and time. As Mr. Russell[2] tells us, while a man exists and the room in which he is also exists, the relation 'in' which holds between the man and the room, does not exist in the same sense. Relations are not particular existents like chairs and tables. And in so far as this is the case, we cannot treat them as concrete in the usual sense. A thing or a substance with qualities and relations is a concrete entity. It has some kind of self-existence and can be thought of independently of other things. But a relation cannot exist nor can it be

[1] Alexander, *Space, Time and Deity*, Vol. I, pp. 240 f.
[2] Russell, *The Problems of Philosophy*, pp. 139-40.

conceived apart from the things or terms it relates. One thing does not belong to another thing in the same way in which relations and qualities belong to things. Again, a relation between two things is not a third thing just in the same sense in which one thing placed between two other things is. From all this we see that relations cannot be treated as things or even as concrete and existent entities.

If relations are not to be regarded as things or substances, can we treat them as qualities in any sense? A quality may be defined as a characteristic which is *in* some substance or thing and cannot be separated from it. It is the kind of entity which is denoted by an adjective, *e.g.* red, sweet, soft, etc. A quality seems to hang on the thing to which it belongs, and does not refer to anything beyond it. Now in this sense we cannot properly speak of relations as qualities. As J. S. Mill[1] points out, the qualities of a thing are the attributes which are grounded on the sensations which the presence of that thing to our senses produces in our mind. (A thing apparently possesses a quality independently of any reference to any other object. But relations are not thus centred in one thing but always require a reference of one thing to other things.) A rose may be said to be *red* without reference to any other object. But one thing cannot be said to be *in* or *out of*, without reference to something else. This fact is recognised even by those who would treat relations as attributes or adjectives. Thus Mill considers a relation to be that kind of attribute which is founded on some fact into which one object enters *jointly with* another object. But here Mill fails to see that instead of explaining relation as an attribute he presupposes relation itself as the basis of it. To say that a relation is an attribute based on some fact into which 'one object enters jointly with another object' is just to say that a relation is grounded on some relation, for 'jointly with' means really 'as related to.' The same remark applies to Mr. Johnson's idea of relation. He says, 'A *relation* is properly defined as a *transitive adjective*, the ordinary adjective being distinguished as *intransitive*.'[2] This definition has, of course, the merit of recognising the fact that while ordinary adjectives like *red* and *sweet* have no reference to anything beyond the objects to which they belong, an adjective like a relation always implies a reference or transition from one thing to another. But as we have already pointed out, not only ordinary but all adjectives are intransitive in this sense. It is just this character that distinguishes adjectives from relations. Hence to say that a relation is a "transitive adjective" is not only confusing but also to presuppose the idea of relation itself, for to be 'transitive' means to be 'related.'

The view that relations are qualities seems to be implied also by certain forms of the theory of internal relations. Thus according to one form of the theory, all relations are internal in the sense that they 'fall within the nature of the related terms.' If by the nature of a term or thing we mean its full nature, then it will include all that is predicable of it. Now relations are as much predicable of a thing as its other characteristics and thus become its attributes. This is especially the case when some logicians say that all propositions are of the subject-predicate form. On this view of propositions, even relations would be predicates of the related terms. The proposition 'A loves B' would, on

[1] Mill, *A System of Logic*, p. 43.
[2] W. E. Johnson, *Logic*, I, p. 294 *n*.

this view, be put in the form, 'A has the character of loving B,' or 'A has the predicate of loving B.' But in either case the relation is treated as a quality or adjective of the subject. The reverse relations would likewise be put in the form, 'B has the character of being loved by A,' or 'B has the predicate of being loved by A.' Here also the relation is treated as a quality of the subject. But the first difficulty in taking relation as a character or quality of things is that we cannot predicate it of things as simply as we can predicate simple qualities of them. While we say simply that 'the rose is red,' we cannot as simply say, 'A is loving B.' We have to twist matters a bit and say, 'A has the character or predicate of loving B.' This shows that it is not the relation but the 'relational character or property' that is predicable of things. Some Indian logicians who do not recognise 'relation' as a separate category bring many of the ordinary relations among things under the category of quality (guṇa). Thus the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas consider such relations as distinctness, conjunction, disjunction, remoteness, nearness, etc., as qualities of the things which are such and such. These relations seem to lend themselves to the qualitative interpretation more easily than other relations like 'loves,' 'hates,' 'is between,' 'to the west of,' etc. When 'A is conjoined to B,' or 'A is near B' it seems that A acquires a qualitative character like 'conjoined to B' or 'near B'. But even here the difficulty of treating these characters as really qualities remains. While a simple quality like 'red' or 'sweet' inheres in one thing, these characters must equally belong to two things or more. Hence they can hardly be treated as qualities, proper and simple. The second difficulty in treating relations as qualities is that it leads to a vicious infinite regress. If relations are qualities, they will not do the work of relating, but would themselves require other relations to relate them to things. But these other relations also being really qualities would need still others, and so on *ad infinitum*. Thirdly, as Bradley points out,[1] relations cannot be reduced to qualities, for 'qualities are nothing without relations.' Qualities without relations are unintelligible and they cannot be found at all. A quality is a particular character different from other characters. If there are no differences, there are no qualities, since all must fall into one and be simply a homogeneous mass. But if there is any difference, then that implies a relation. It is not possible for us to think of qualities without thinking of distinct characters. But we cannot think of these characters without the relation of difference between them. So it is not possible for us to treat relations as simply qualities. Nor can we treat qualities as relations. Bradley and Bosanquet both tell us that 'relations cannot be reduced to qualities; nor qualities to relations.'[2]

It would appear from the foregoing discussion that relations are neither things nor substances, nor the qualities of things like red, round, sweet, etc. This fact has led some thinkers to treat relations as universals. Thus Mr. Russell holds that relations are 'the sort of universals generally represented by verbs and prepositions.' By a universal he means that which is other than particular things, but may be shared by many particular things. 'It is something other than particular things, which particular things partake of. Not being particular, it cannot exist in the world of sense. Moreover it is not fleeting or changeable like the things of sense; it is eternally itself, immutable and indestructible.' Thus like

[1] Bradley, *Appearance and Reality*, 2nd ed., pp. 21-25.
[2] Bosanquet, *Logic*, 2nd ed., p. 279.

Platonic ideas, universals are opposed to the particular things which are given in sensation and which exist in the physical world. But for this, it must not be supposed that they are ideas in our mind and are, therefore, mental. The being of universals does not depend on their being thought of or in any way apprehended by minds. Universals subsist in their own right in the world of being, but they may be apprehended by minds. Justice and whiteness are such universals represented by qualities. The quality of justice is different from just acts, but is something common to them all. Similarly, whiteness is a universal in which all white things participate. But while just acts and white things are particular objects which exist in the physical world, justice and whiteness are not particular facts like them. Still, they are no less real than the particular facts. Rather, the particulars are what they are by participation in the corresponding universals. Now relations also are universals generally represented by verbs and prepositions. Take, for example, the relation 'loves' or 'is to the north of.' The first relation may hold between any two persons, and the second between any two objects which are physical. 'Loving' is a relation which may hold between two or more persons and is common to them, but it is not confined to any pair of them. Likewise, the relation of 'being to the north of' may be true of many things and so common to them. But while the persons or things can be perceived to exist in space and time, these relations do not exist in the physical world. There is no place or time where we can find the relation 'north of.' Nor can we say that it is in our mind. If A is to the north of B, then that relation will be true of them even when no mind knows anything about it. Thus the relation is neither in space nor in time, neither material nor mental; yet it is something. What is true of this relation is also true of all other relations. They are common to many particular things, but are not themselves particular things or sensible objects. As such, they must be treated as universals and placed in a world which is neither mental nor physical.[1]

(1) Apart from the difficulty of conceiving universals as entities which only *subsist* but do not exist in the spatio-temporal world, there are two main grounds on which the above view of relations seems to be unacceptable. If relations are universals, they are neither physical nor mental entities and must be placed in a world which is neither physical nor mental. But in that case, we do not see how they relate mental and (2) physical objects. If relations are neither material nor mental, and if they do not belong to the physical or the mental world, it is difficult to understand how they bear on physical and mental objects and bring them together in the way in which they seem to do in our experience. Physical things and minds, we say, exist and are related in space and time. But if these relations are neither in space nor in time, we can hardly speak of them as the spatial and temporal relations of things and (3) minds. Secondly, relations cannot be reduced to universals because universal itself depends on relations. A universal, we are told, is what is common to many particular objects. It is the common nature or character of many particular objects. But that things have a common nature means that they resemble one another in some respect or respects. So it is the relation of resemblance among many particular objects, on which the recognition of a universal depends. Further, a universal in the concrete depends on its relations to the particulars and cannot have

[1] *Vide* Russell, *The Problems of Philosophy*, pp. 139-54.

being apart from that relation. Thus tableness as a universal must be related to some particular table and its concrete nature depends on such relation. What tableness is apart from relation to particular tables we cannot understand. Hence universals in the concrete are what they are, because of their relation to some particulars. From all this we see that universals depend on relations and that to explain a relation as a universal is to presuppose it.

So far we have seen that relations are not sensible facts like things or their qualities and activities. While things or substances and their qualities and activities may be said to exist and to be perceived by us, the relations between them cannot be said to exist and to be perceived in the same sense. A thing like a table, the brown colour that belongs to it and the resistance it offers to our hand when pressed against it, are all sensibly present and perceived by us. But the relation 'in' between the table and the room in which it exists, or that of 'being owned' between the table and its owner cannot be said to be a sensible fact perceived by us in the same way. Now by facts we generally mean entities which exist in space and time, *e.g.* physical things, minds and their qualities and actions. As such, what does not exist in space and time is not regarded by us as a fact. The objects of the world are found to possess certain values for us. They are regarded by us as beautiful or ugly, good or bad. But while these objects are regarded as so many facts, their values are not so regarded by us. Hence values are not facts like the things which possess them. Since relations also do not exist in space and time, we are to say that they are not facts like the things, qualities and actions between which they hold. It might be said here that relations also are facts, but they are facts of a different kind from those that exist in space and time. While the latter are existent facts, relations are *subsistent* facts or entities. This seems to be the view implied by Mr. Russell's theory of relations as universals. But what a subsistent entity other than existent facts is, we can hardly make intelligible to ourselves. We can understand what a physical or mental fact is, but we cannot properly understand what a subsistent fact which is neither physical nor mental is like. Of course, we do not deny that it is something. But it seems to us better not to call it a fact at all. Values, for example, are neither facts nor fictions; rather they are the expressions of our feeling of appreciation of facts. Relations also are not fictions, although they are not to be treated as facts. Relations are not facts but the ways or forms of ordering facts. They stand not for facts but for the order and arrangement among facts. The facts are the terms of a relation, and the relation is the way in which the terms are ordered and arranged in our experience. The ordering of the terms has reference to a whole or a system on the one hand, and to the action or function of the terms within that system on the other. Thus a relation is an order among facts relatively to their action or function in a system. The relations among the players in a football game have reference to their respective functions in the game as a system or whole. Their relations are just the ways in which their activities are ordered and adjusted in the course of the game. Apart from reference to their activities in the game, there would not be the relations which we find among them. It follows from this that things which do not act on and affect one another within one system will have no relations. This is the reason why in the

absence of any interaction Leibnitz's monads cannot properly enter into any relations with one another. It follows also that the same terms will have different relations according to their functions in different systems. The same books in the same library will stand in different relations to one another when they are ordered and arranged according to such different principles as size, colour, subject-matter and language. Another consequence of our view is that if certain terms are incapable of functioning as members of a particular system, they will have none of the relations which imply that system. Relations like 'far,' 'near,' 'north of,' etc. imply the spatial system. Things which do not exist in space, *i.e.* belong to the spatial system, cannot have these relations. Thus we cannot sensibly talk of virtue being to the north of vice. Similarly, inanimate objects which do not belong to the moral system cannot have moral relations. One stone cannot be said to be more virtuous or wicked than another. Ordinary relations like 'in' and 'upon,' 'before' and 'after' require that their terms must belong to and function within the spatio-temporal system. When one thing contains or supports another thing in space, we say that the second is 'in' or 'upon' the first. These relations thus express the ways in which the actions of two things are ordered in space. Similarly, when one thing precedes or succeeds another thing in time, we say that the one is before or after the other. This is how their actions are ordered in time. Hence we say that relations are not facts but the ways or forms in which facts are ordered and arranged in experience.

The many ways in which facts are or may be ordered, and consequently, the many relations which we find among them, are not all of the same kind. Certain types of relation seem to be more fundamental than others so far as the related terms are concerned. Some relations are universal and necessary for all facts, some seem to be necessary for certain facts, while others do not appear to be necessary for many facts. If by facts we mean, as we do mean, entities which exist in space and time as so many particulars, then among facts we are to include physical things, minds and their qualities and actions. All such facts by their very nature require to be related in space and time, and by causality. Particular facts are what they are by virtue of these relations. Facts like things, qualities and actions cannot *be* unless they are in space and time and causally related to one another. Likewise, one fact is a particular of a certain kind in so far as it differs from other facts and resembles some facts. One table is a kind of particular fact because of its resemblance with other tables and difference from whatever is not a table. It would thus appear that the spatial, temporal and causal relations as also the relations of difference and resemblance are the most fundamental of all relations. These and other fundamental relations we propose to call *constitutive relations* in so far as they determine the nature and existence of the terms related by them. There are certain other relations which, although not fundamental for all facts, seem to be necessary for the facts related by them. These relations are not constitutive of all facts, but only of those that are related by them. A man's or woman's relation to a son or daughter is what makes him or her a father or a mother. Apart from relation to some child, a man would not be a father, nor a woman a mother. Of course, he may be a man or she may be a woman without a child, but not a father or a mother. Thus the relation to some child enters into the connotation of a father or a mother, and is so far constitutive of each of them. Contrariwise, one would not be a son or a daughter

apart from relation to both a father and a mother. To be a son or a daughter is to be necessarily related to one's parents. Similarly, if one is to be a teacher he must be related to a student, and if one is to be a student one must be related to some teacher. Without these relations one may be a man or a boy, but not a teacher or a student. Thus these relations enter into the connotation of a teacher and a student. As distinguished from these constitutive relations, there are some relations which are non-constitutive in the sense that they do not determine the being and nature of the related terms as we understand them. When a book is on a table, the relation 'on' or 'upon' which relates the one to the other does not appear to be constitutive of either. The book or the table has being only as it is in space and time and is the effect of some causes and conditions. Further, the relation of the book to some subject-matter, author and language is a part of its connotation. It cannot be a book without relation also to these things. What a book is apart from its relation to some subject, author and language, we cannot say, because there is then no book at all. But the relation 'on' in which the book stands to the table does not enter into the being or the connotation of either. The book which is now on the table may be removed elsewhere and its relation to the table ceases. But even then the book remains a book and so also the table. Neither the existence nor the nature of the book or the table is affected thereby. Such relations which do not form a part of the being or connotation of the terms related are called *non-constitutive relations*.

Now we are in a position to decide the controversy as to whether relations are internal or external. Whether a relation is internal or external depends on the nature of the relation and the terms related. If the relation is in any sense constitutive of the terms, *i.e.* if it conditions the existence and nature of the terms, it would be internal; if not, it would be external. From our standpoint all constitutive relations are internal, whereas all non-constitutive relations are external. The relation of 'being in' space and time is constitutive of all physical things, minds (as distinguished from the spiritual self) and their qualities and activities. So also, the relations of 'being caused' by something, 'being different from' other things and 'similar to' certain things are constitutive or determinative of all objects of the world. An object like the table before me is what it is because it is a substance which has certain qualities and activities and which exists in space and time and is causally related to other things. And as a table it must be similar to other tables and different from what is not a table. Apart from all these relations a table would not be a table at all. Some neo-realists like Mr. Russell speak of a real table which is other than the perceived table and of which the perceived qualities are not directly the properties. But a thing which has no perceived colour, shape and size, etc. may be real like atoms or electrons and protons; it can hardly be a thing like a table. Hence we say that such relations as 'being in' space and time, 'having qualities,' etc. are constitutive of all things or objects and are, therefore, internal to them. Other relations like 'father of,' 'son of,' etc. are found to be constitutive, not of all objects, but of those that are related by them. They enter into and determine our concepts of those objects. Apart from such relations the concepts would not be applied to those objects, and they would be differently conceived by us and thus become different objects. Hence these relations also are internal to the terms related by them. If, however, a relation be such that it does not affect the existence and nature or the concepts of the terms related by it, we are to say that

it is an external relation. The relation of a book to the table on which it is placed is, as we have already explained, a non-constitutive and external relation. It might be said here that the full nature or complete conception of an object would involve all its relations to other objects, and, therefore, all its relations would be internal. This is implied in the idealistic argument for the internality of all relations. But here it should be pointed out that we are not yet in a position to say what the ideally complete nature or conception of an object is. We are rather concerned with the actual nature of objects as now known and agreed upon by us. A table may ideally contain the whole universe within it. But if we take it in its ideal character it ceases to be a table and becomes the whole universe and the question of its relation to other things does not arise at all. When we consider the relation between a table and the book placed on it, we are to take them in their accepted meanings as particular physical objects denoted by two different concepts. As such, the relation appears to be external. If, therefore, we take, as we should take, our stand on the accepted notions or conceptions of the things or objects of the world, we must say that while some relations are internal, others are external to the terms related by them.

THE MYTHOLOGY AND FOLK-LORE OF CENTRAL ASIA

S. K. CHOWDHRY, M.A. (CANTAB.)
Calcutta University

THE Bases of the Culture of Central Asia.—The most striking feature of Central Asia is its cultural rather than ethnic unity; even its affinities have a bearing on this unity, which has for its *leitmotif* Turco-Mongol Life and Culture. The divergence between 'the Desert' and 'the Sown' in Central Asia, between the Gobi and the Takla-Makan Deserts on the one hand and the cities of the Tarim Basin on the other, originally so well-marked, exists no longer. The 'Turkicisation' of this vast area of the world's surface has been complete and for centuries the *Pax Turcica* has reigned here supreme.

It is to the six cities of Central Asia, the *Hexapolis* of Ptolemy and of ancient Hellenic geographers—in Tchagatai or Turki, *Alti Shehri*—comprising Yarkand, Khotan, Uch Turfan, Aksu, Kashghar and Yangi Hissar, that we must turn for the bases of Central Asian Culture, for the real history of Turkestan. What is more, linguistic and ethnic cross-currents embody in these six cities their highest coalescence and commingling. The tales of the 'Folk,' of racial institutions and racial culture, have their efflorescence in these six cities and in two others—Tashkent and Urumtchi.

Iranian and other Indo-European themes and tales formed the original foundations of the culture of this ancient land of the legendary King Afrasiab, but the impact of Turco-Mongol peoples such as the *Dokuz-Oghuz* (the nine Oghuz), *On Uigur* (The Ten Uigurs), *Karluks*, *Yue-Tchi*, *Joan-Joan*, *Yepthelites*, the *Ting-ling* and others produced on the already existing Indo-European foundations a Turkish and Turco-Mongol superstructure, for we must not forget that during the first nine centuries of the Christian Era the 'Turkicisation' of Eastern Turkestan, of that part of Central Asia detailed above, was gradual but final. What took place in Eastern Turkestan also took place in Western Turkestan, that is in Turan Proper, also called *Mawerannahr*, the Land across the River Oxus.

The Evolution of Central Asian Folk-Lore: The Rôle of the Tribal 'Shaman.'—The Folk-Lore and myths of Central Asia had their rise in the Shamanist Epoch. They arose either from a common ancestral memory or from the fertile brains of the shamans themselves. Who were, then, these shamans? They were the sorcerers and bards of the Pre-Islamic Turkish peoples of Central Asia. They were, so to speak, the residuary legatees of tribal culture, the proud guardians of tribal conduct and the jealous custodians of tribal lore. The shamans were, above all, the mediators between the unseen world of spirits and the seen world of primitive men. Many scholars have tried to account for the strange hold the shamans exercised over the minds of their fellows, and they have even suggested that the pre-eminent position of the shamans in Primitive Turkish Society is entirely due to their being more "sensitive" than those around them, in fact more neurotic. Present-day travellers and scholars in Mongolia and Siberia, for instance, where shamanism still persists, record that the shamans are generally cataleptics and epileptics, and that their trances in which they commune with the spirits are nothing more than cataleptic seizures.

The lore of the shamans in Primitive Turkish Society was connected with the symbolism of colours. This is one of the most important aspects of Turkish Mythology. Blue was the sacred colour of the Ancient Turks; it was more than a sacred colour, it was the 'national' colour of Ancient Central Asia. Thus in Turkish Mythology the legendary Blue Wolf (*Kök Büri*, the pathfinder of the peoples of Central Asia, who had led the Eponymous Hero of the Turkish Race: Oguz Kagan (Attila the Hun) to his conquests, was a sacred animal because he was blue. The Ancient Turks prided themselves on their name *Kök Türkler i.e.*, "Blue Turks"—the Turks *par excellence*. The Turkish word *kök* means blue. Turkish Folk-Lore and Traditions are full of allusions to this colour. The Chief of the Primitive Turkish Pantheon: *Möngke Kök Tängri, i.e.*, "The Everlasting Blue Sky," symbolised the innate sacredness of this colour. Green (in Turkish *Yeshil*) was also a sacred colour and had magical properties. Thus *Yeshil Tash* or *Yada Tash* (*i.e.*, Green Stone or Jade Stone) possessed magical properties, as we know from Mahmūd-i-Kâshghâri's Encyclopaedia: *Divan-i-lughat-ut-Turk*. Also in Qazvînî's famous work *Adjaîb-ul-Makhlûqat* the Jade Stone is referred to as a 'stone of rain,' *i.e.*, the stone which brings down rain on parched soil. A curious use of the Jade Stone was when one Turkish army, which had the Jade Stone in its possession, caused rain to fall in floods over its opposing forces and thus vanquished them. Red was evil. Demons—*Afreets and Sheytans*—were red in appearance. Yellow (*Sari* in Turkish) was also an evil colour—witches (*Sari Kizlar*) were generally of this colour. Similar features, *i.e.*, Yellow Women, are to be found in the *Hikayalar* or *Hikayatlar*, *i.e.*, Fables of the Uzbeks of Afghan Turkmenistan, collected on phonograph records by the Swedish Orientalist Gunnar Jarring. In these fables as well as in those of the Pamirs and Kashmir Witches (*Sari Kizlar*), Demons (*Sheytanlar*) appear; but most of these fables have animals and birds as their "Dramatis Personae"—akin to the Aesop's Fables of the Greeks and the *Hitopodesa* of the Ancient Indians. Birds and beasts, however, have always played a lively rôle in fables and fairy tales of all lands.

Demonology.—This provides an interesting meeting-place of the Folk-Lore and Mythology of Central Asia and its neighbouring countries; to take a very typical example, we have the "Red Demon" (In Turkish: *Al Ruh* or *Albasti Ruh*; *Al* in Turkish=red), which may perhaps be the survival of a Fire-Cult, since red is the colour of fire. This Malignant Spirit is also found amongst the Uzbeks, Kirghiz, Bashkirs, Buriat Mongols, Altai Turks, Yakuts of Siberia and the Kazaks.

Conclusion.—Thus Central Asia, the neighbour of four Ancient Civilisations—India, Afghanistan, Tibet and China—represents in its Folk-Culture different elements from these countries; in its turn it is the great store-house of Folk-Lore from where others have derived some of their ideas.

Miscellany

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

WHAT IS POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION

No re-construction can possibly realize the ideals or principles, should there be any, of world-wide economic salvation. The coming post-war world economy or economic reconstruction bids fair to be but a continuation, in the main, of the world-economy at 1939.

Arthik Unnati (economic progress) is a social phenomenon of doses or degrees. It is essentially gradualistic and can never claim finality or all round comprehensiveness.

It is the equations of comparative industrialism and technocracy such as were in evidence in pre-war years that would set *the general lines* along which the new transformations within the reconstruction-complex are likely to preceed. The disturbances or modifications of pre-1939 equations generated by World-War II, in and through war-industries, inflated employments, inflated currencies, inflated wages and inflated prices,—are to be treated in the main as aberrations of not much permanent value. They are fundamentally short-period emergencies. The post-war equations may be taken chiefly as not very great deviations from the pre-war. Reconstruction as such is considerably limited by these positive considerations,—pious wishes or idealistic planifications notwithstanding.

Let us begin by defining two terms, post-war economy, and world-economy. It is not necessary to indulge in speculation in order to explain the two categories. The economic evolution between World-War I and World-War II, *i.e.*, from 1919 to 1939 furnishes the objective data about these phenomena.

First, then, post-war economy is, realistically considered, the economy of preparation for the next war. Secondly, world-economy is not equivalent to the economic organization of the entire world. It is to be understood pragmatically as the economy of that much of the two hemispheres which it is possible for a people to utilize. This utilization is not, however, to be taken in a sinister sense. The spirit of " mutuality " with the other peoples of the same region is not to be excluded.

VANSITTARTISM IN WORLD-PLANNING

The present war (since September, 1939) is being expected to come to an end by 1945. Sweeping proposals for dealing with defeated Germany are set out in a memorandum published (on May, 1943) by the Post-war Policy Group of members of the House of Commons and Lords of which Wardlaw-Milne is the Chairman. The memorandum, signed by 34 members of the Group, urges effective occupation of Germany and setting up of an Inter-Allied Council of Control. The first duties of such a Council should be, it is said, preservation of all order and complete demobilization of all German armed forces within six months, dismantling of the aeroplane industry and control, and, where necessary, closing down of German war potential including heavy and chemical industries to the extent to which they are the basis for production of munitions; arrests and bringing to trial of persons alleged to be guilty of war crime, disbanding of officers' *corps* and training *corps*. The essential points of the subsequent peace treaty in this plan should be that Allied army and air-forces will occupy Germany until the Allies agree that this may with safety be terminated or relaxed, independent states in East Prussia and Rhineland, restoration of the sovereignty of all countries invaded by the Axis, Allied control of radio, printing and education in Germany, no German army, navy and air-force, civil aviation or aircraft industries until allied nations decide otherwise, return of all loot or compensation in kind, all costs arising Allied occupation to be paid by the German States.

The paper on " A Plan for Germany's Economic Disarmament " by Einzig in *The Economic Journal* (London, June-September, 1942), throws likewise a flood of light on post-war world-reconstruction. It may be said that the world-economy is expecting a Super-Versailles by 1946. World-War II cannot therefore be the last war of history. Humanly speaking, a war of revenge may be expected by 1965-70 in spite of the efforts of the victors to prevent that consummation. Some idea of such efforts to be directed by Anglo-American " peace-force " may be seen in King-Hall's *Total Victory* (New-York, 1942) and Gelber's *Peace by Power* (London, 1942). In June, 1943, the British Labour Party also at their conference declared for the totalitarian disarmament of the German people. They proceeded on Vansittart's hypothesis that there were no " good Germans" in Germany. Post-war world-economy, then, is tantamount to the economic structure and dynamics of the world during these two decades or so (1946-70) of universal war-preparedness or continuation and maintenance of war-organization. Some of the items may be seen in Condliffe's *Agenda for a Post-war World* (New-York, 1942), a work, *en passant*, that fights shy of idealistic and millennial world-recipes.

Round the World

Liberated Paris—

After four years and two months of German domination—of Teutonic blood and iron—Paris, the most vivacious city in Europe, is free once more. Her citizens may breathe again the fresh air of the *Boulevards*, uncontaminated by the foetid breathings of the Gestapo.

This city, the *Lutetia Parisiorum* of the Romans, has ever since the Eighteenth Century (the Century of Rationalism and Etiquette, of War and Luxury—of *Krieg und Kapitalismus* and *Luxus und Kapitalismus*) symbolised *politesse* and *souplesse* in Europe. Paris set the fashion for all the capitals of Europe. Many cities prided themselves on being miniature representations of her : Copenhagen and Brussels, Sofia and Bucharest imitated *la vie Parisienne* through their *boulevards* and open-air cafés, through their *bourses* and *opera-houses*. To them Paris was more than a legend—she represented a mode of existence.

Her nimble-witted people, however, had seen many stirring and turbulent events, riots and street-factions. The Parisian ' cockney '—the *gamin*—has an ebullient humour and delights in the rough and tumble of political factions. The bloody massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572 A.D., the Frondist struggles during the minority of Louis XIV—so charmingly and realistically depicted in the novel *Vingt Ans Après* of *Alexandre Dumas*, and the storming of the Bastille during the exciting days of the French Revolution are notable examples of the political *joie de vivre* of the Parisian. He is accustomed to the *barricades*, and the call " to the barricades " has a special appeal for him. The sieges connected with the *Commune of Paris* in 1870, by which the French Government and the *Bouageoisie* wrested the City from the Commune, showed the indomitable tenacity and fighting spirit of the Parisian *gamin*, who could withstand such severe sieges. He can also withstand the foreign invader. In the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, the citizens, inspite of the national defeat andthe flight of Napoleon III, presented a bold and defiant exterior to the Germans and treated the heavy Teuton with undisguised contempt.

In this war too, during the nightmare of Teutonic occupation, the Parisian showed his mettle. That he was never really cowed down is proved by the vigour and ease with which he took up arms against the Germans and helped the external French forces and their allies to free the city. The spirit of the " Barricades " stands at last vindicated.

The Sinking Ship—

One by one, the allies, satellites and well-wishers of Germany are leaving her. Italy left her as the result of an internal *coup d'etat* and the resurgence of liberal opinion as represented by the " Philosopher of History " Benedetto Croce and that aristocrat-liberal Count Sforza. Finland, wearied of an unequal and rather meaningless stife with Russia, would like to accept peace terms, at least if these are in accord with her national integrity and dignity. Even those, who were for a time well disposed towards, Germany, such as Turkey, at one time timid of possible Russian aspirations in the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, and Spain, actuated by Falangist gratitude to Germany for help received during the Spanish Civil War as well as by a similarity in ideologies, have now veered away from Germany.

Rumania has not only left Germany but has even declared war on her. She has long been irritated by the Vienna Award, by which Hungary gained at her expense. The defection of Rumania is in itself a considerable blow to Germany's prestige in the Balkans. Repercussions are being felt already : fortified by the examples of Turkey and Rumania, neighbours with whom her fortunes are closely linked, Bulgaria now avers her neutrality. In the Balkans, the cockpit of Europe, Germany has received a setback to her dreams and schemes of a " *Drang nach Sud-Osten.*"

Experts for Ruins—

Under this title the March 1944 issue of the "*Nineteenth Century and After*" has an amusing, albeit slightly sardonic, comment. Apparently an ' expert authority ' has been appointed to advise the Allied Armies in Italy on matters of Archaeology and Art. What are the duties of the expert ? In the words of the *Nineteenh Century and After*, " To sort out the fragments of anything ancient that may remain after our bombers and the German Goths have passed that way ; then to mark the sites of beauty destroyed. A cross or star, in this revised Baedeker tour, would indicate the spot where there *was* a famous monastery, cathedral, fresco or oil painting." It is no doubtlaudable that archaeological objects and remains of Antiquity should be taken care of in the midst of war and guarded from its ravages, as well as commemmorated in this way, but it is still more praiseworthy not to have any war at all.

Planning for India—

The view that patchwork schemes of planning would not conduce to economic regeneration of the country was recently expressed by Mr. M. L. Khemka, presiding over the first quarterly general meeting of the Marwari Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Khemka laid emphasis on the industrialisation of the country, which should be the primary object of planning. The Government, however, Mr. Khemka said, was laying stress on the agricultural aspects of planning. This made it appear that its aim was still to reconvert India into a vast source of raw materials and primary products. If Mr. Khemka's fears are right, that is, if the industrialisation

of India will not proceed apace, then, indeed, the country will remain in a perpetual state of arrested development.

Mr. Khemka further said that many industries were being killed due to import of consumer goods, which came in direct competition with the indigenous manufactures, and there were still other industries, which were suffering because of the discouragement of imports of those essential materials, either needed for the development of the industries or essential in order to ensure a smooth working or mere continuance during the war.

Bengal : Development of Inland Fisheries—

The expansion of the Fishery Department of the Bengal Government and the demand for scientific men and specialists on inland fisheries for the development of private fisheries have led to the formulation of a scheme, whereby students and specialists will be trained in this field A Diploma course in fisheries for imparting training, both theoretical and practical, in the development of inland fisheries and research on fresh water fishes of Bengal is under consideration of the Calcutta University. The training will comprise a six-month course. Only students who have passed the M.Sc. Examination in Zoology, with a special paper in Fishery, will be eligible for admission. The Fishery Department, Government of Bengal, will co-operate in the scheme. It is to be noted that such training is not provided in any other University in India.

Bengal, which is rich in fisheries and in different varieties of fish, more than any other part of India, should look to the development of this great national wealth and asset of hers. Fish, again, is a very important part of the diet of her people and should be improved in quality as well as in quantity.

The Famine Commission—

After the preliminary sittings in New Delhi, where officials of the Imperial Secretariat were examined, the members of the Royal Commission on Famine have come to Bengal. They have already examined witnesses here—both officials and non-officials. Anybody, who feels so inclined or has any personal knowledge of the Famine, may submit a memorandum to the Commission. It is the duty of all those, who have any first-hand knowledge of the Famine, to submit a memorandum and approach the Commission with their special findings. In this way the public could help the Commission effectively. It must be suggested, however, that concrete details and statistical materials will be more useful in a memorandum than vague generalisations and sentimental outpourings.

S. K. C.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Gandhi Era in World Politics—By Y. G. Krishnamurti, with a Foreward by Sir S. Radhakrishnan. Dedicated to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. Published by the Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road, Bombay. Pp. 72. Price Rs. 3-12-0.

Dr. Krishnamurti already well-known as the author of a book on Jawaharlal Nehru and another entitled " Independent India and a New World Order " has, in the work under review, given the world his views on the place of Mahatma Gandhi in world politics. After showing how the views of our great national leader on political and economical problems are moulded by religion, the learned author proceeds to show the superiority of the Gandhian conception of a co-operative world commonwealth, not only to fascism and communism, but also to the existing type of Western democracy which, to all intents and purposes, denies freedom in every sphere of life to the ordinary man. His analysis of the defects found in these three ideologies is original and illuminating. As this co-operative commonwealth presupposes the willing partnership of all the member states, it is natural for the author to discuss Indian Freedom as interpreted by Gandhiji.

In the last two sections Dr. Krishnamurti shows how Mahatma Gandhi's is the only spiritual solution of the existing world difficulties and why today he may be regarded as the one outstanding world leader qualified to usher in a new world epoch.

It is this aspect of Mahatma Gandhi's service to humanity as well as the certainty of its ultimate acceptance by the world that is emphasised towards the conclusion of the foreword where Sir Sarvapalli observes that the next stage in the development of humanity will see the rule of law and impartial justice substituted by one where "love and law are one."

Obviously a great admirer of Mahatma Gandhi, the author has given us here the conclusions he has arrived at after wide study and deep thought. There cannot be much doubt that even those who may find themselves unable to subscribe to this view *in toto* will have to admit that India's greatest leader is one of the most outstanding among world figures today with his own

riginal solution of the world malaise, to reject which without a fair trial would be tantamount to a ession of the small amount of influence exerted on the practical affairs of life by religion to ich most of us pay lip homage only.

Superbly printed on thick paper, there are reproductions in colour of two portraits in oil Miss Angela Trindade. One of these shows Gandhiji and Nehru in deep conversation, the other s a portrait of Jawaharlal. There are also a number of black and white illustrations.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Political Insanity of India.—By N. H. Vakeel. Foreword by Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad. ublished by Messrs. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Rampart Row, Bombay. Pp. 95. Price Rs. 4-8-0.

The book is a clear indication of the fact that many thoughtful observers of Indian public e, who have studiously kept themselves aloof from politics, have come to feel that for at least some me to come unadulterated democracy with its concomitant majority rule, where it enforces its will the minority, is not likely to succeed in India. According to people holding these views, among whom Dr. Vakeel is to be counted, some modification of it seems necessary. It is therefore that we have in this book an attempt at a solution of this political problem.

Coming as it does from a member of one of the smallest of Indian minorities, the Parsi ommunity, one is not surprised to find a scheme for both the provinces and the centre where power is to be shared by all. Dr. Vakeel sponsors it because he finds that all our major political parties, as well as the British Administration, have failed so far in devising a constitution which ensures political and economic justice to all. He holds that in the past the interests of minorities have been endangered and sometimes even overlooked and he maintains that the constitution as envisaged by him, if accepted, will remove these difficulties.

Admirable as the scheme is, the question is whether it is to be imposed on India by Britain, in which case it will give rise to resentment, or whether it should obtain the assent of all parties. It cannot be denied that if the contention of the author in regard to the tyrannical attitude of the two largest religious communities is founded on fact, it would be exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to persuade them to give up the superior position they may claim on the basis of their numerical strength.

A serious defect in the scheme pointed out by the veteran liberal, who has contributed the foreward, is that its framer has taken for granted that, for all times to come, the different communities will continue to be at loggerheads on account of their preference for their group interests. Unless the world forces called into play by the present war lose all their influence after its end, it is probably safe to assume that there will be a transfer of a very large amount of political power to the masses all over the world. If that is so, it follows that identity of economic interests will tend to obliterate the differences now existing between different social and religious groups.

But even after these criticisms have been urged against the book, one feels that it is valuable as the attempt of a man somewhat conservative in outlook but who at the same time is a realist to tackle one of our most pressing problems.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Sita-Ram : The Ramayana in Verse.—By Miss A. Christina Albers. Published by Jagriti Printing Works, Salkia, Howrah. 1941. Demy 8vo 126 pages.

Albers is one of those few gifted Western women who came to this ancient land of Aryan Culture and Civilization to stay on and to live as one of us. The life-long task to which she has devoted herself is the presentation of some of our ideal men and women, heroes and heroines through simple but elegant and eloquent English verses. The Sītā-Rām or Rām-Sītā is one of her best poems that have undergone more than one edition. In the present edition we have a further form of representation of the immortal epic, Rāmāyana, of Vālmīki. Albers has rightly said that Rām-Sītā have been the living ideals to all men and women in the land of Bhāratavarsha, from hoary antiquity. The deepest sympathy of her womanly soul goes naturally with Sītā through all her pangs and woes, trials and tribulations. The eternal bond of love which united the two glorious souls on earth was not to be rent assunder by death or any kind of separation. The peaceful realm of the Brahmaloka where the two souls united at last no more to part is well depicted in the concluding lines of her beautiful poem :

> " That still realm
> Where peace and all eternal silence reign
> Where life in its pure essence dwells supreme
> In an unchanging, all transcending love."

To say in her own words, the Sīta-Rām or Rām-Sīta deserves to be a " *a guide to generations yet unborn.*"

B. M. BARUA

The Social League Handook of Information.—Compiled and Edited by John P. Valavi, General Secretary, The Social League, Ernakulam.

This small book of seventy pages consists of three parts, the first two of which are devoted to a description of Cochin State and its problems and the origin and various activities of the Social League which so far appears to be confined within Cochin. The third part gives statistical information about India in general. This is rarely earlier than that for the year 1938-39.

China Calling.—By Hiren Mukerjee. Published by Anti-Fascist Peoples' Union, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta. Pp. 88.

Mr. Mukerjee who has drawn the materials for his book from various writers including Edgar Snow, Anna Louise Strong and Agnes Smedley has put together a very readable book on the regeneration of China and has shown that this has been the work mainly of the coolie, the peasant, the despised and the disinherited. He has not failed to point out how Britain and the United States went on supplying munitions of war to Japan at the same time professing to help China ground down under Japan's military might and that their alliance with China was forced on them under the pressure of circumstances. His exposition of the services rendered to Chinese nationalism by the communists with their unselfish devotion to the establishment of unity is admirable. A popular book, *China Calling*, gives much information within a short compass and may serve as an introduction to a detailed study of the fascinating subject of China's revival.

Cottage Industries and their Role in National Economy.—By R. V. Rao, M.A., Professor and Head of the Department of Economics, Dharmendrasinghji College, Rajkot. Published by Vora & Co. (Publishers), Ltd., 3-4 Round Building, Bombay 2. Pp. 56. Price Re. 1.

The book consists of four broadcast talks on cottage industries given by Professor Rao at H. E. H. the Nizam's Broadcasting Station, Hyderabad, Deccan, with an additional chapter written later on and an appendix giving an account of the origin and development of the All-India Village Industries Association. After describing the rôle of cottage industries in the national economy and their utility as a means of reducing both agricultural and urban middle class unemployment and the difficulties which stand in the way of their resuscitation, the writer shows in the last and the most valuable of the chapters the necessity in India of the adoption of a new economic policy. Though small, the book is a valuable addition to the literature on this subject.

S. C. SEN

Ourselves

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR INDIANS IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

The Watumull Foundation established by Mr. Gobindram J. Watumull of Honolulu, Hawaii, and Los Angeles, California, for carrying on philanthropic and educational activities which will help to increase the NATIONAL EFFICIENCY OF INDIA and further better-understanding between the United States and India, offers one (1) Travelling Fellowship for ONE YEAR, and ten (10) scholarships to Indian men and women to carry on higher studies and research in American Universities and institutions for advanced agricultural and technical education for TWO YEARS.

I A Travelling Fellow will receive a stipend covering travelling expenses from India to the U.S.A. and return to India, and an allowance of $ 250 a month for a year.

An applicant for a Travelling Fellowship must be a Professor in an Indian University or College, or a recognised scientist with the highest type of professional attainments, and must indicate in his application the nature of research work, investigation or special study, which he or she intends to pursue during the stay in the United States. Each applicant must provide :

(1) A Certificate of good health
(2) A Small photograph
(3) Two testimonials from public men
(4) Academic record
(5) Evidence of achievement in the chosen field of study
(6) A Personal letter of application

II. Scholars receiving stipends from the Watumull Foundation will be divided into two groups:

GROUP A

Scholars in this group will receive travelling expenses from India to the U.S.A. and return to India, tuition and laboratory fees, and an allowance of $ 150.00 per month for two years.

GROUP B

Scholars in this group will receive travelling expenses from India to the U.S.A. and back to India, tuition and laboratory fees, and an allowance of $ 100.00 per month for two years. Recipients of Group B scholarships must provide a guarantee from two responsible persons to the effect that, in case of securing a scholarship of $100.00 a month, the balance of required expenses will be provided by them.

Only graduate students of the best type, such as First Class or Second Class M.A. or M.Sc. from Indian Universities with research experience, graduate medical students with M.B. degree from Indian Universities and with research experience, graduate engineers with B.E. or B.Sc. degree in Engineering, and graduates of Agricultural colleges are eligible for these scholarships. Special exceptions may be made for some students who may not have the highest academic standing, but have done considerable original work of outstanding merit as First Class scholars. The applicant must be a person of good character and good health and must provide :—

(1) A certificate of good health
(2) A small photograph
(3) Testimonials from two professors or business men
(4) A copy of the academic record
(5) Choice of subject in which graduate work is to be pursued
(6) A personal letter of application.

These scholarships are open to MEN AND WOMEN students of Indian parentage without any discrimination of class or religion. All successful candidates will be chosen by a Special Committee on the basis of merit only. Each candidate should stipulate his choice of subject, preferably in the following fields : Medicine, Sanitation, Public Health, Agriculture, Engineering, Education, Hydraulics, Mining, or Economics. This list is not intended to be all-inclusive, but will indicate the fields in which there is need in India in order to increase her national efficiency.

Applications for the Travelling Fellowship and for Scholarships should be sent by Air Mail to :—

Mrs. G. J. Watumull,
Chairman, Distribution Committee,
Watumull Foundation,
937 Malcolm Avenue,
Los Angeles 24, California, U.S.A.

* * *

M. L. EXAMINATION

The next M.L. Examination will commence from Monday, the 11th December, 1944.

Applications and fees for admission to the examination should reach the University on or before Monday, the 11th September, 1944.

* * *

M.B. EXAMINATION

The next M.B. Examinations will be held from Monday, the 20th November, 1944.

Applications and fees for admission to the examinations should reach the University on or before Monday, the 30th October, 1944.

* * *

DR. ISHAQUE ARABIC AND PERSIAN SEMINAR OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Dr. M. Ishaque has proposed to make over to the University his collection of books in Arabic and Persian numbering about 2,000 volumes and worth about Rs. 20.000.

The Seminar will not only be a library but will also contain *incunabula*, objects of art etc. The University has accepted the offer with thanks.

* * *

SIR P. C. RAY MEMORIAL FUND

An appeal has been issued by H.E. the Chancellor and by the Vice-Chancellor for raising funds for the establishment for a Chair in one of the branches of Applied Chemistry, to perpetuate the sacred memory of Acharya Sir Prafullachandra Ray.

The University intends to raise Rupees 5 lakhs for the purpose, and the signatories are confident that the appeal will meet with a generous response.

Donations may be sent either to Mr. D. K. Sanyal (Hon. Secretary) or to Mr. J. C. Chakravorti (Hon. Treasurer), Senate House, Calcutta University.

THE LATE DR. BIDHUBHUSHAN RAY

Dr. Bidhubhushan Ray, P.R.S., D.Sc., Khaira Professor of Physics, Calcutta Universi was born in July, 1894 in the Village Khandarpara in Faridpur District. He had a bril academic career. In 1922 he was awarded a Doctorate in Science and in 1923 the Premc Roychand Studentship. In the same year he went to Europe as Palit Research Scholar. worked in Upsala University (Sweden) with Professor Siegbahor and in Copenhagen Universi with Professor Nils and Bohr. His researches were on X-ray and Atomic Spectra. In 1 he was awarded a Ghose Travelling Fellowship and visited the University of Vienna. He the President of the Indian Science Congress in 1942. A great scientist and a man unassuming manners, his death will be keenly felt both in scientific circles and outside.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CENTRAL LIBRARY.